The Social Contract

Vol. X, No. 4 Summer 2000

Liberals and Immigration Reform

Can they be recruited?

Highlights

Ed Levy, Miles Wolpin, Otis Graham, John Attarian and Meredith Burke discuss whether liberals can be involved in the immigration reform movement.

Presidential candidates and other national leaders announce their policies toward immigration and amnesty.

Diana Hull traces Latino-sponsored proposals in the California legislature.

Joseph Fallon reports on an immigration conference in Boston.

Australia correspondent Denis McCormack contrasts life in Iceland and India in light of population and cultural pressures.

Book Reviews by:
Kevin Lamb
John Attarian
Paul Rondell
Brenda Walker
Miles Wolpin

Aastha Arora, India's symbolic billionth baby, is held aloft by her grandmother as her mother, Anjana Arora, looks on. Reprinted by permission of the Associated Press,© 2000.

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About The Social Contract

The English philosopher John Locke, whose thinking helped inspire the American revolution, said that society should be governed by an understood set of values he termed "the social contract." Under the social contract, governments have obligations to their citizens, and citizens have responsibilities to society.

Most great public issues are basically moral and ethical ones. What is the right thing to do? How do we decide what we think is right? When "rights" collide, which ones take precedence? The concept of the social contract helps us sort out the difficult issues confronting American society today and helps us find balance.

Each quarter, The Social Contract *journal examines trends, events and ideas that could unravel America's delicate social fabric. Key topics addressed by this journal:*

- *Human population issues, including absolute size, rate of growth and distribution. Do cherished American ideals prosper or suffer through further population growth?*
- *Immigration issues. In order to best facilitate meeting the highest goals of the American people, (1) how many immigrants should we admit? (2) who should be admitted, and (3) how can we humanely enforce the rules?*
- *Language, assimilation, culture and national unity considerations. What are the shared values necessary to the maintenance of our social contract?*
- *The balance of individual rights and civic responsibilities. Since the previous issues are so often framed in terms of rights, what are the balancing obligations?*
- *Other nations' efforts at guarding or creating their own social contracts. What practical insight can be gained from observing the failures and successes in nation-building by other societies?*

The Social Contract *explores these complex and interrelated issues with articles varying greatly in outlook and philosophy in the attempt to further vigorous public debate.*

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Vol. X, No. 4 Summer 2000

Contents

227 **A Note from the Editor**

228 **The Bulletin Board**

229 **Liberals and Immigration Reform**
by Edward Levy

232 **Immigration Control: Is There a Liberal Constituency?**
by Miles D. Wolpin

238 **Has Immigration Reform Lost the Liberals?**
by Otis L. Graham, Jr.

239 **Liberals and America's Immigration Policy**
by John Attarian

243 **Pragmatic Liberalism**
by D. Meredith Burke

246 **Immigration and America's Promise**
by Jack Kemp

247 **Kemp Borders on Foolish**
by Don Feder

249 **Amnesty Ad Infinitum**
by Diana Hull

256 **Buying Open Borders: Organizations Funded by the Ford Foundation**
Research by Joseph Fallon

257 **Tracking Presidential Candidates on Immigration**
Open Letter from Roy Beck

258 **Theater of the Absurd: An Academic Conference on Immigration**
Reportage by Joseph Fallon

260 **Iceland to India: A Traveler's Trek from Homogeneity to Diversity**
by Denis McCormack

268 **Ducking the Issue: Candidates Fail to Talk About Immigration Policy**
by Charley Reese

269 **Another Issue BushGore Won't Talk About**
by Scott McConnell

269 **Defending Against the Wrong Army**
by Paul Craig Roberts

271 **Immigrants Have No Plans to Assimilate**
by Samuel Francis

272 **Union Cards for Illegal Aliens?**
by Georgie Anne Geyer

Book Reviews

274 Kevin Lamb reviews *Culture Matters: How Human Values Shape Human Progress* edited by Lawrence Harrison and Samuel Huntington

276 John Attarian reviews *The Reverend Thomas Robert Malthus AMS: Demi-devil, Saint, or Merely Great Benefactor?* by Jack Parsons

280 Paul Rondell reviews two classics by Vance Packard, *The Hidden Persuaders* and *The Waste Makers*

281 Brenda Walker reviews *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?* by Susan Moller Okin

284 Mile D. Wolpin reviews *Civil War II: the Coming Breakup of America* by Thomas W. Chittum

286 Mark Wegierski reviews *Betrayal and Deceit: The Politics of Canadian Immigration* by Charles M. Campbell

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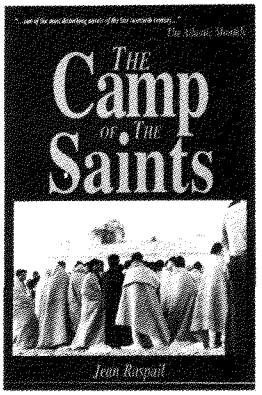

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A Note from the Editor *The Unspoken "A" and "I" Words*

A campaign for another mass amnesty for the aliens (estimated at six million, perhaps, many more) living illegally in the United States has been quietly gathering steam for some months now, promoted by a coalition of liberal and conservative politicos, racial and religious particularists, and business interests (who benefit from cheaper foreign labor, especially in the agricultural, construction, meat-packing, high-tech, and higher education fields). Leaders from both major political parties endorse recently introduced legislation that would provide amnesty for illegal aliens from Central America and the Caribbean, as well as any illegal aliens residing in the U.S. who have been living here since the end of 1985. Given that, as legal residents, the beneficiaries of a new amnesty could bring in dependents, there is no telling just how many millions of people would be added to the U.S. population base.

Note that in the statements by Vice-President Al Gore and leading Republican Jack Kemp, the words "amnesty" and "illegal alien" or "illegal immigration" are nowhere used. This is hardly surprising, since the proponents of "regularizing" the standing of the millions of foreigners who live here in violation of our laws want to slip the enabling legislation past the unsuspecting American majority.

What is wrong with another amnesty? First, it is wrong in principle, since it rewards lawbreakers. As far back as 1977, when President Jimmy Carter proposed granting the first amnesty, Pennsylvania Senator Richard Schweiker pointed out that an amnesty "puts the government squarely behind the lawbreaker, and in effect says, 'Congratulations, you have successfully violated our laws and avoided detection — here is your reward.'"

A lesson we should have learned from the 1986 amnesty is that this is not the way to resolve our illegal-immigration problem. It encourages more illegal immigration, as individuals realize that if they manage to elude the U.S. Border Patrol, or over-stay a tourist or student visa and remain underground for a while, eventually they will be allowed to remain here legally. There is nothing inhumane about enforcing our immigration laws and expelling illegal aliens. Another mass-amnesty is likely to precipitate a new immigration crisis.

WAYNE LUTTON, Ph.D., Editor

Statement By Al Gore: Ensuring Fairness and Equity for Immigrants

NASHVILLE, July 27 — Today, I am announcing my support for recently introduced legislation, S. 2912, to ensure fairness and equity for certain immigrants and their families already in the United States. I call upon George W. Bush to make clear his stance on this issue and join me in challenging Congress to pass this essential legislation.

Specifically, the bill amends the Nicaraguan Adjustment and Central American Relief Act, which allows Nicaraguans and Cubans fleeing human rights violations to become legal immigrants, but does not allow similarly situated Central Americans and Haitians to do so. I believe we should correct this longstanding injustice, and I urge Congress to pass this legislation to ensure equitable treatment for other Central Americans and Haitians who fled human rights abuses or unstable conditions. This will not only ensure equitable humanitarian protections, but also advance our commitment to the stability of emerging democracies.

The legislation also amends section 249 of the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA), allowing qualified long-term migrants who have resided in the United States since 1986 to become legal permanent residents. This provision, also known as the registry date, has existed since 1929 and has enabled many long-time migrants in the United States to deepen their ties to this country, including the establishment of families, homes, and communities. Congress should pass this legislation to revise the 1972 registry date and allow qualified long-term migrants who have lived in the United States since 1986 to become lawful permanent residents.

Finally, the legislation reinstates section 245(i) of the Immigration and Nationality Act allowing certain immigrants who are eligible for residency to have their papers processed here in the United States rather than force them to return to their home country. Families who are in this country legally should be allowed to remain together in the United States while immigration applications are pending.

I am committed to the overall fair and even-handed treatment to immigrants with substantial ties to this country. This legislation will give them the fair and just treatment they deserve. I urge Congress to give this important legislation prompt and favorable consideration.

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The Bulletin Board

Immigration on the Internet

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT journal now has a research site by which all the articles published in previous issues of the journal are available at <thesocialcontract.com>.

Here are some other sites that readers may find of interest. By listing them here *The Social Contract* does not imply an endorsement of all the material on any specific site.

- The Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) <fairus.org>.
- "Immigration by the Numbers" <numbersusa.com>.
- English Language Advocates <elausa.org>.
- Center for Immigration Studies <cis.org>.
- Affirmative Action for Immigrants <pw2.netcom.com/~jimrobb>.
- Peter Brimelow, Scott McConnell, et al, <www.vdare.com>.
- News and commentary on ethnic and other conflicts worldwide <antiwar.com>.
- Carrying Capacity Network <carryingcapacity.org>.
- Negative Population Growth <www.npg.org>.
- Philip Martin's *Migration News* <migration.ucdavis.edu>.
- Professor Norman Matloff: <heather.cs.ucdavis.edu/pub/Immigration/Index/html>.
- Midwest Coalition for Responsible Immigration <enteract.com/~mcri97>.
- Sierrans for US Population Stabilization <susps.org>.
- A parody site: <sierraclubbed.com>
- *People and Place* is published in Australia by the Centre for Population and Urban Research <elecpress.monash.edu.au/pnp>.
- Canadian Immigration Reform Committee <canadafirst.net>.
- Voices of Citizens Together <americanpatrol.com>.
- Council of Conservative Citizens <cofcc.org>.
- Columnist Samuel Francis <www.samfrancis.net>.
- The Biocentric Institute <ultralink/net/IAPM>.
- "Stalking the Wild Taboo" <lrainc.com/swtaboo/>.
- Projects USA <projectsusa.org>.
- The European Forum for Migration Studies <www.uni-bamberg.de/efms>
- Floridians for a Sustainable Population <flsuspop.org/index.htm>.
- Population and Sustainability <www.ecofuture.org/ecofuture/populat.html.>
- American Renaissance <amren.com>.
- *Mankind Quarterly, The Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies* — articles and reviews including population, immigration and public policy: <mankind.org>.
- Federal Publications (developments in immigration law) <fedpub.com/immigration>.

E-mail addresses for pertinent organizations:

- <center@cis.org> Center for Immigration Studies (CIS).
- <npg@npg.org> Negative Population Growth.
- <ccn@igc.apc.org> Carrying Capacity Network (CCN).
- <caps@calweb.com> Californians for Population Stabilization (CAPS).
- <newsclips-subscribe@egroups.com> Conservative News Links.

And from the perspective of the opposition and their stand for open borders:

- The American Immigration Lawyers Association <aila.org/home.htm>.
- The Sierra Club <sierraclub.org>.
- The Aztlan Organization <aztlan.org>.
- Political Ecology Group (PEG) <igc.org/peg>.

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Liberals and Immigration Reform

by Edward Levy

[*This article is adapted from a speech given by Dr. Levy in conjunction with a national gathering of Democrats.*]

Liberals seem to have forgotten what they are supposed to stand for and whom they are supposed to represent. Ronald Reagan made "liberal" into the dirty "L" word; and that tactic worked so well that too many liberals, even today, are so intimidated that they are making Reagan's characterization shamefully accurate.

For example, liberals are supposed to sympathize with the middle class — workers, professionals, and small (not big) business people. Liberals are also supposed to help wage earners and farmers raise their earnings. But today our middle class is shrinking and liberals who support large-scale immigration are helping to speed that shrinkage. That is, immigration over-supplies our labor market, helps depress wages, and dissolves the middle class.

The widening gap between rich and poor caused by this dissolution of the middle class is dangerous both economically and politically because a two-class society of only rich and poor is a characteristic of countries without democracy. No middle class, then, means an end to our way of governing ourselves, a process already evidenced by low voter-turnout — even for presidential elections.

Thus, strengthening the middle class should be part of both the liberal and conservative agendas, since only a strong middle class makes a democracy possible, and we should all be interested in that. If immigration facilitates the weakening of the middle class, then both liberals and conservatives should strongly support reducing the levels of immigration.

Consider some of the ways that political leaders are skewering the middle and lower classes by allowing immigration to continue at peak levels:

- Immigrants' children overcrowd our schools, especially inner city schools, making a decent education virtually impossible.
- Immigrant workers fill unskilled jobs, making entry-level jobs unavailable to anyone else.
- Immigrants are recruited for skilled and semi-skilled jobs along with positions at universities because they work more cheaply. This not only helps shrink the middle class but makes mobility from the underclass to the middle class less possible. Training our own citizens becomes unnecessary, and the poor stay poor.

By supporting mass immigration liberals are betraying their constituents. Supporters of large-scale immigration are playing into the hands of the Libertarians and the *Wall Street Journal* editorial board in their demands for an over-supply of cheap labor.

Another portion of the population that liberals have traditionally represented is minorities. But immigration harms minorities, most particularly the immediately preceding group of immigrants, since *all* the new immigrants are competing for the same jobs. For example, Cesar Chavez energetically organized the migrants workers in California, but continuing waves of both legal and illegal immigrants undid his work.

Unions worked to help raise workers' wages from the 1920s through to the 1960s when they had to be coerced into opening their ranks to blacks. At the same time that these employment doors were opening to

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blacks, Congress was opening the doors to wave after wave of immigrants. Immigration has always harmed America's minorities — the blacks, of course, and the Native Americans as well.

"Businesses prefer importing immigrants to hiring our own citizens. How can liberals justify and participate in this hard-hearted behavior and support large immigrant flows? They hide behind a cloak of "humanitarianism" while advocating a policy lacking in compassion for the underclass in their midst."

It's happening now. Businesses prefer importing immigrants to hiring our own citizens. How can liberals justify and participate in this hard-hearted behavior and support large immigrant flows? They hide behind a cloak of "humanitarianism" while advocating a policy lacking in compassion for the underclass in their midst.

But mostly, liberals are prisoners of the past, trying to solve the problems of today and tomorrow with the slogans of yesterday. They react reflexively and without thought to well-worn stimuli — "We are a nation of immigrants" is mouthed as if we were the only such nation on the planet. Once the slogan is repeated like a mantra, all clear thinking is avoided.

But is continuous immigration still appropriate today as it may have been in the past? Liberals should offer today's solutions to today's conditions. Is immigration the basic source of America's greatness? If so, who did not other nations of immigrants such as Brazil or Mexico become great as well? If immigration is the master key to success, we have in front of us a simple, practical solution to the economic and social problems of Central and Eastern Europe, Africa, Latin America and most of Asia. Migrants should be sent there. If continuous immigration is the basic act that made America great, then immigration can make great nations out of Bosnia, Afghanistan, Mexico, Ethiopia and Rwanda as well.

No. Clearly immigration is not the answer; something else is at work here. America became great because it had a relatively sparse population and an abundance of resources. This is what allowed our middle class, our democracy and our well-being to develop. Populations appropriate to resources could help many nations to emulate that greatness.

Where, however, are the liberals — or, for that matter the conservatives — who might work to create the population base that would preserve our resources for the future?

Immigration is destined to increase our population by 100 percent, that is to double our rate of population growth. Meanwhile our water supplies are depleted through overuse, misuse, abuse, waste and ever-increasing demand. We encourage the paving over of our land with housing, roads and shopping malls and exult in the increased demand for more and ever more land to begin yielding its final crop: asphalt or concrete.

And faced with all these challenges the media and the environmental protection groups are silent, at least about the basic cause of all environmental damage — population ever growing beyond an area's carrying capacity. Liberals have apparently forgotten that they should care about the future.

Who should Liberals care about?

Liberals are supposed to be guided by compassion, and immigration is not always compassionate.

There are four groups to be considered. First, the migrants themselves. Probably two billion of the world's population live in some sort of misery and deserve better. Immigration to industrialized Western countries helps a small proportion of these. But what about the other three segments?

The second group of people, far larger than the first, consists of the citizens of the receiving country. At least in the case of the United States this means over-crowded schools, glutted labor markets, diminished opportunities, depressed wages, ethnic tensions, increase in crime, depletion of water

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supplies, air pollution, crowded roads, loss of farm land as well as wilderness and green space — and an overall weakening of democratic process. Population growth beyond our environmental, social and political carrying capacity hurts most of our citizens. And immigration is now doubling our growth rate.

The third group affected by immigration consists of the people left behind in the sending countries. What is compassionate about taking the teachers from Haiti, the dissidents from Cuba, the nurses from the Philippines, the doctors from India and the energetic entrepreneurs from Asia and Africa?

And what is compassionate about spending so much money here on immigrants when those funds could be used much more effectively and with more long-term benefit for many more people by building schools and hospitals and supporting small businesses there? To prefer immigration for the few who can come, to genuine long-range help for the many, is hardly compassion — it is an instant gratification "feel-good" that smacks of hypocrisy.

And the fourth group — these are the yet-to-be-born, the generations to come. Using up resources for a quick profit today is no less a crime than stealing from the future. Ethics is dependent on imagination and we need to do more imagining of our grandchildren doing without wilderness and park land, struggling over depleted water supplies, staring at wall-to-wall concrete. If present trends continue our population will double in sixty years. Children now born will be living in an America of one billion people, which is the current population of India. Can we imagine what double looks like — double the people, double the houses, double the roads, double the traffic, double the lines at every public venue? If we can, we should imagine our grandchildren making their way in such an America.

What should Liberals be Doing?

Liberals should be supporting self-help projects in those countries that want our assistance — help to build schools and hospitals, help to build small businesses whose owners form a middle class and foster democracy, help to limit population size. Instead of their being uprooted for migration we should help them "bloom where they're planted."

Liberals should be advocating a reduction of immigration numbers to traditional levels so that America can have time to "digest" the newcomers and rebuild adequate schools, hospitals and roads as well as assessing the impact of numbers of people on our resources and our environment.

Liberals should support actions in Congress to clarify the language of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. Its intent was to help the descendants of American slaves become full citizens but it has been re-interpreted to grant citizenship to any person born on U.S. soil. This loophole of interpretation can be easily closed by Congressional legislation so that aliens will not come to the U.S. to have "anchor babies" who are eligible later in life to sponsor further migration of family members.

Liberals should encourage support of the INS and make sure it is adequately funded to enforce our laws in the interior of the country as well as at the borders. Cooperation between local law enforcement agencies and the INS should be permitted and fostered. Those who commit marriage fraud, H1B-visa fraud and asylum fraud should be prosecuted along with the immigration lawyers who advise their clients to commit such frauds.

Liberals should be listening daily for the remarks of fellow citizens that need to be corrected. The statement "immigrants will work harder for less money" describes exploitation, not productivity. "Trickle down" theory should be replaced with "trickle up" theory where fair wages create consumers who will build the economy and help business without constant dependence on population growth. Charges of "racism" and "nativism" are not helpful in understanding the effects of mass immigration. We are not so much "a nation of immigrants" as a nation of democracy and no matter what immigration was or may have been, continuing it now on its current scale threatens democracy.

Liberals need to remember that Americans, by a majority of four to one, want immigration reduced to traditional numbers. We still have a chance to prove that Reagan was wrong when he made the "L" word dirty by doing what liberals once did: representing and standing up for the majority. ■

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Immigration Control:

Is there a liberal constituency?

by Miles D. Wolpin

ABSTRACT: Among participants in the immigration reform movement are many conservatives and some liberals. Advocacy research of the liberals tends to highlight such concerns as population density, urban sprawl, employment opportunities, wage depression, etc. The implied premise of Liberal response to these issues is questioned in this analysis. Has the ideological evolution of Liberalism rendered such appeals problematic during the last quarter of the 20th century? If so, is it still possible to generate support for immigration reform from sectors of Liberalism's mass constituency?

Within the frequently overlapping Euro-American defense and immigration control movements, concerned thinkers are anything but ideologically homogenous. While "organic" (or "paleo") conservatives may be dominant, there are also many nationalists, populists, and "patriots" as well as a dynamic liberal minority. Asserting the indisputable — that a broader coalition is imperative for success — the latter maintain that greater energy and resources should target potential liberal supporters.

Would this strategy be a cost-effective use of resources for a movement that boasts few corporate/foundation benefactors and modest numbers of activists? If not, as many conservatives believe, should the proposal be rejected in its entirety? Whether a useful strategic initiative can be derived ultimately depends upon an assessment of contemporary Liberalism's ideological parameters.

***Miles D. Wolpin** teaches political science at the State University of New York at Potsdam. He is a frequent contributor to* The Social Contract, *most recently on the "defection" of labor movement leadership from the goal of protecting the wages of American workers (The Social Contract, Winter 1999-2000, p.134).*

Stratifying the Liberal Sector

A tentative, yet considered response to the argument for liberal inclusion requires that we distinguish among those generally lumped together. Liberals differ in two ways that parallel conservative divergences.

First, there are some factional disagreements over issues such as free trade. These, as I shall make clear, are less significant within Liberalism — and particularly for immigration reform advocates — than those over globalism between neo-conservatives on one hand, and nationalists or paleo-conservatives on the other.

The second much more crucial difference involves internalization of the Liberal ethos. Here three groups may be identified. First are the 5-10 percent who may be designated as ideologues. This elite stratum dominates leftist interest groups, much of the media, academia, mainline churches and many foundations, as well as certain public sector bureaucracies and the national Democratic Party.

Another somewhat larger sector of perhaps 15-20 percent have only moderately assimilated the ideological principles infusing modern Liberalism. They constitute an attentive public and reliable followers of the ideologues. Many are employed by, or the immediate constituency of, the previously mentioned Liberal-dominated institutions and interest groups.

Beyond the ideological cadre element and its attentive support sector is a much larger (70-85 percent) nominal constituency, which frequently supports Liberals for "group benefits" rather than ideological reasons. Here responses are evoked by beliefs that a narrow or broadly defined group's interests will be defended or enhanced by state paternalism. The sometimes-conflicting groups include the poor, wage and lower level salary earners,

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minorities, and those who are young, old, ill, variously disabled, or gendered.

A Necessary Strategic Exclusion

Certain immigration reform advocates, organizations (e.g. FAIR, CIS) and publications (e.g. *The Social Contract*) have devoted considerable attention to such liberal concerns as poverty, wage depression, job displacement, excessive demands upon limited public sector resources, urban sprawl and other ecological problems. Yet these appeals encounter a veritable "brick wall" insofar as the Liberal elites and their attentive followers are concerned. Few are responsive and virtually none offer support to the immigration reform movement.

Some, of course, may honestly believe that immigration reform liberals are mistaken or even dishonestly shielding — or being used by — vile "conservative" nativists. Such misperceptions are reasonable given the high and increasing level of Liberal intolerance and civic distrust. Similarly, others may react negatively because of strong Liberal group loyalty or fear of sanctions, which deter critical questioning of ideological tenets in normal times.

For these and many other Liberal "true believers" however, the dominant ideological paradigm has a transcendent immunity from such "minor" empirical defaults. Not only can the latter be met with methodological critiques or counter arguments, but from the standpoint of the contemporary Liberal vision, they are of secondary importance. Indeed, with a little more generous welfare statism, they can be ameliorated.

The underlying deficiency of liberal immigration reformers is their failure to acknowledge the radical transformation of Liberalism in the 20th century. This has involved three broad relational areas in which two are especially pertinent to the recalcitrance of Liberal ideologues.

In point of time, the first major evolutionary change, which began in the late 1700s culminated during the second half of the 19th century. Under the combined impact of the scientific and industrial revolution in the context of philosophical idealism and universalistic modern norms, Liberalism became increasingly internationalistic. As Mundell (2000: A30) underscores, the nation state was perceived as an anachronistic "barbarism" that impeded progress.[1]

During the late 19th century, national rivalries were viewed as the primary cause of war. Liberals began an institution-building program reinforced by a succession of treaties first in the interstate conflict area and then focusing upon economic relations. Most recently, the "world community" and "human rights" have been added to this "globalist" jihad.

Thus, by the late 20th century, Liberalism was essentially universalistic in its normative pretensions (if not practice) and globalist in vision. Nation-states and their sovereignty are in the process of being superceded while nationalism is viewed as an archaic impediment to "progress" in strengthening the world "community." This is a far cry from the 18th century particularistic Euro-American liberal paradigm.[2]

"...appeals encounter a veritable 'brick wall' insofar as the Liberal elites and their attentive followers are concerned. Few are responsive and virtually none offer support to the immigration reform movement."

Liberalism's internationalist evolution was to a limited degree accelerated by competition for mass support with a radical socialist 19th century offshoot of liberalism and Hegelian idealism. Marxism, however, had an even more pronounced impact upon the other two transformations of Liberalism. The first was its assimilation of egalitarian "social justice" norms which involved rejection of limited government and laissez faire (i.e. liberal) citizen-state relationships. Thus 20th century Liberalism (Social-Democracy in Europe) became strongly committed to welfare-statism geared to both Keynesian and redistributive (neo-Marxian) goals.

If it can be said that dialectically Liberalism in our century engaged in a successful competition with the Marxist Left by partially assimilating its statism and egalitarian economic values, this has also occurred

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most recently in the socio-cultural area encompassing race, ethnicity and gender. Only here — paradoxically despite the collapse of its Communist rivals — Liberalism has proceeded to incorporate New Left radicals, and their socio-cultural egalitarianism in its most extreme version — one more radical and intolerant in certain respects than the politically correct Soviet version.

Thus, "multiculturalism" represents the third great transformation. Employing a neo-Marxian paradigm, Third World peoples along with other minorities of color, women, homosexuals, etc. are "oppressed" and victimized by exploitative white (Euro-American) males and their power structures. The rule of law is a myth while equal opportunity is meaningless in the absence of statist outcome leveling.

"Today, then, Liberalism is liberal in name only. Liberty, the rule of law, freedom of association, property rights and even free speech are all under sustained vitriolic attack by so-called Liberals."

Here the traditional Leftist direct assault against property and liberty has been replaced by an indirect erosion through taxation, regulation and a proliferation of collective "rights" and "victim" claims. Similarly, national traditions, institutions and identity are gradually eroded from within by incessant deconstructionist "de-mythologizing." Marcuse and Gramsci are very much alive!

Today, then, Liberalism is liberal in name only. Liberty, the rule of law, freedom of association, property rights and even free speech are all under sustained vitriolic attack by so-called Liberals. Many have gone so far as to operationally ignore egalitarianism by systematically according ascriptive group preferences to "oppressed" collectivities. And these via non-elected bureaucratic and judicial institutions in those numerous cases where legislatures are recalcitrant. Imposition by decree belies their "democratic" pretensions. The Liberal intelligentsia, then, as Lasch (1995) and others have stressed, is estranged from and almost at war with their "own" Euro-American native stock. The "culture war" is for the future America to become a Third World-dominated "multicultural" society characterized by many ethnicities rather than a single national identity!

A Cost-effective Strategy

To direct "liberal" immigration reform appeals to such alienated utopian ideologues is unlikely to evoke favorable responses. Neither citizenship obligations (Geyer, 1996) nor national interest are meaningful frames of reference for such de facto open borders cosmopolitans. Indeed, "immigrant rights" which equal or even trump those of many native-born citizens, is their mantra for illegal aliens.

Liberals, in short, have emerged during the last three decades as the foremost coalition partners of employers, militant ethnics and neo-conservatives in weakening the immigration control infrastucture. Like Left Socialists, Communists and most Greens in Europe, they demonize even defensive nationalism as "racism" or xenophobia.

Even those who have *partially* internalized the mutually reinforcing globalist and multicultural visions are unlikely to "listen" short of a major crisis. In the 1950s or early 1960s before internationalism had become fully institutionalized and radical multiculturalism a major force in Liberal circles, this strategy might have yielded modest dividends. But in that era the "American Dream" was a reality while a largely unskilled and culturally alien migratory invasion of 1.5 million/annum was not threatening to our national unity and well-being.

Since then not only have the last-mentioned variables changed radically, but so has the structural paradigm of Liberalism. Thus "liberal" economic arguments for immigration control are rendered nugatory by supervening egalitarian ethno-cultural and globalist loyalties. The "think globally and act locally" strategy is to seize control of global institutions (e.g., WTO, IMF, UN) and impose a "progressive" Third World "people" dominant New World Order. The latter would effectively eradicate the twin evils of Euro-American and corporate capitalist hegemony in America and elsewhere. That is the long-term agenda

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of social radicals who have progressively transformed Liberalism since the civil-rights campaigns of the 1960s.[3]

Rather than dilute limited resources in vain appeals to egalitarian Utopians, immigration reformers can generate support by directly targeting some if not all of their welfare state constituency groups. They neither understand nor identify with globalism or multiculturalism, yet frequently support Liberals to enhance their socio-economic security or opportunities. Many in this sector retain some degree of identification with the nation state, its protective roles and even traditional values (family, church, rule of law, etc.)[4]

Thus the Keynesian dimension of Liberalism which has the greatest resonance at the mass level also happens to be consonant with the socially protective goals of immigration control. Yet proponents of the latter who seek major defections from the nominal Liberal constituency — most of whom neither understand ideology nor consider themselves as Liberals — must be willing to compromise on matters of labor or consumer protection, reformed safety nets, national health insurance, etc.[5] Improvements can be financed by the currently externalized costs of mass immigration estimated at $60 billion per annum. Reduction of massive fraud and waste could generate additional funding!

The foregoing proposal does not require uncritical acceptance of welfare state excesses associated with wasteful, ineffective or socially degenerative Liberal policy propensities. On the contrary, it only implies last resort compassion and help — in the most cost-effective way — for deserving citizens who can thus again contribute to the national community.

Toward a Symbolic Alternative

Intellectually rationalized arguments even when limited to such policy issues and well founded empirically, only resonate with the narrow, more educated stratum. Most of the latter, however, fall within Liberalism's "core" and attentive ideological sectors. Thus 60 percent of the Sierra Club's members rejected border controls two years ago, as do the dominant elements in most other environmental organizations.

Clearly, there is a residual defensively nationalist liberal minority of mostly attentive followers within these and other interest groups such as labor. This is also true with respect to consumer, women's and even some minority (especially Native American tribal) organizations.[6] In a crisis, many will defect from Liberal misleadership, yet their numbers are relatively modest.

Thus the popular following that is needed can only come from the semi-literate, poorly informed mass base that currently supports Liberal elites. Here an inspirational symbolic appeal rather than a narrow interest group single-issue approach is necessary.

"Immigration control, other bona fide welfare measures and a non-aggressive foreign policy must be embedded within a broader patriotic and regenerative nationalist party or movement that can elicit their affective loyalties."

Immigration control, other bona fide welfare measures and a non-aggressive foreign policy must be embedded within a broader patriotic and regenerative nationalist party or movement that can elicit their affective loyalties. Effective leadership — ideally charismatic — would be optimal.[7]

Such a populist movement advocating an accountable protectionist state can cost-effectively utilize limited resources — this through its own communications infrastructure reinforced by mass organizing from below. While initial progress may be modest, at the first ethno/racial and/or economic crisis, it will veritably "take off." Tactically, it should combine a positive vision of restored American greatness and shared prosperity with dramatic appeals that tap mass fears of Balkanization and decline due to Liberal corruption and betrayal.

Dogmatic libertarians and neo-conservative "free marketeers" who defend mass immigration should also be targeted for these and other nationally destructive

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policies as well as their ubiquitous cowardice vis-a-vis Liberal multiculturalism, hypocrisy and high level perfidy. In doing this, many of their non-ideological supporters can also be incorporated into an emergent American National Movement.

In Western Europe a similar process is unfolding with new adherents being attracted from the mass base of both the Social-Democratic and traditional (now largely neo-conservative) Right. Hence while the latter has moved toward adopting a free market "American model," nationalists here may derive insights and advantage from the growing appeal of culturally defensive national movements upon that continent — ones that have already indirectly succeeded in pressuring many European Union governments to more effectively control their borders. ■

NOTES

[1] "The classical economists were virtually unanimous in their support for a common unit of money. Economists like John Stuart Mill deplored the nationalism that made it impractical: 'So much of barbarism, however, still remains in the transactions of most civilized nations, that almost all independent countries choose to assert their nationality by having, to their own inconvenience and that of their neighbors, a peculiar currency of their own.'"

[2] As late as the mid-19th century, liberal principles such as the rule of law, limited and representative government, liberty and tolerance were not regarded as universally applicable to non-Europeans. Despite self-righteous efforts in the 20th century to export these Euro-American values, and thus universalize them, institutionalized success has been rare in non- Euro-American culture areas. In many of the latter, this universalizing mission has been and is denounced as cultural imperialism.

[3] Pertinent sources on the radicalization of pre-Vietnam War era Liberalism include: (Bernstein, 1994); (Buchanan, 1997); (Collier and Horowitz, 1997; (D'Souza, 1992); (Emery, 2000); (Fallon, 1998); (Francis, 1998); (Geyer, 1996); (Gross, 1997); (Hoff-Sommers, 1994); (Jatras, 1998); (Lasch, 1995); (Lindstrom, 1993); (Lynch, 1992); (McDougal, 1997); (Moody, 1998); (Murphey, 1993); (Nelson, 1994); (O'Sullivan, 1998); (Patai, 1998); (Post, [2000]); (Richert, 1998); (Schmidt, 1997); (Sowell, 1996); Sunderland, 1993); (Taylor, 1992); (Thibodaux, 1994); Weissberg, 1998).

[4] Thus, the "Reagan Democrat" support in the 1980s along with Republican majorities in the Congress and most of the states during the 1990s. During the latter decade survey research revealed that only a small American minority (10 percent among union members) identified as "Liberals." Toward the close of the decade women shifted to favor regulation of abortion — 53 percent by 2000. At the same time, in excess of 70 percent of Americans have consistently favored more immigration control.

[5] Along with education, these are the primary issue areas which account for Liberal mass support. A laissez-faire paradigm can be used only to qualify and criticize welfare state excesses or incentives that unduly undermine personal responsibility, merit, freedom of association, etc. In its pure form, however, "free market" symbolism fails to evoke positive support from those lower middle and working class sectors that frequently support Liberals. It implies the rejection of a state role that is protective and optimally compassionate for non-parasitic deserving citizens.

[6] Nor should one necessarily write off all ordinary Hispanics. Geyer (1996:224) reports that:

... the stunner of them all was the 1993 Latino National Political Survey, conducted by Rodolfo O. de la Garza, the respected professor of government at the University of Texas at Austin, ironically with funding from the Ford Foundation. (It surely did not expect the outcome, and there were indications that it tried to downplay the embarrassing results!) This comprehensive poll of Hispanic-American attitudes, goals, and hopes illustrated once again how ethnic political leaders were not advocating the causes that their communities supported. It found that 80 percent of Puerto Rican-Americans, 75 percent of Mexican-Americans, and 66 percent of Cuban-Americans wanted to reduce immigration to the United States. It also showed that most "Hispanics" think of themselves as neither Hispanic nor Latino. Most consider themselves moderate to conservative ideologically and support a common national agenda that includes traditionally liberal positions on domestic issues; and most do not have a particular interest in Latin America.

But an even greater shocker was the fact that fully 90 percent of those interviewed said that none of the ethnic organizations spoke for them or for their ideas. (Peter Skerry had already found that only 8 percent of Hispanic-Americans even used the word "Hispanic" to describe themselves.) They spoke English better than Spanish and thought newcomers should use English. As to motivation, they were surely reacting on a self-interest level as well as on a patriotic level, and trying to keep foreign competitive labor from destroying their lives and lifestyles. Then, really challenging the suppositions on which the activists' policies were based, a majority denied ever having been discriminated against.

[7] Given the extraordinary level of citizen alienation —

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ranging from 70-90 percent (Ferguson, 2000:12) — the attitudinal climate clearly favors such an "outsider" who confronts discredited elites that today are ignored by approximately two-thirds of our citizenry.

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Has Immigration Reform Lost the Liberals?

They seem to be on the wrong side of the debate

by Otis L. Graham, Jr.

One does not have to agree with every turn of the arguments in the essays by Edward Levy and Miles Wolpin to recognize the immense importance of their central point — that American liberalism has somehow got itself on the wrong side of the immigration debate, betraying its constituency and values. Levy offers a substantial argument for the latter point, failing to find any real benefit — and much harm — in mass immigration's impact upon American society, politics, economy. "Why don't they see?" he asks in understandable frustration at the liberal collaboration in an immigration policy designed for, if not only, by Big Business and Big Agriculture. "They are prisoners of the past," he offers, a powerful idea that deserved a fuller development.

Dr. Graham comments on the essays by Miles Wolpin and Edward Levy concerning the involvement of liberals in the push for immigration policy reform.

Enter Wolpin, whose focus is on "why they don't see!" Separating liberals into elites and the "mass base that currently supports Liberal elites," he finds that the former "don't see" because they have converted to an anti-nationalistic (and thus anti-American) cosmopolitanism anchored in a confused, ill-considered but passionate Multiculturalism. Wolpin apparently finds them hopeless, and he has my sympathy. For every Dick Lamm or Michael Lind who argues for immigration restriction so that the social and environmental objectives of liberals can at least be placed within reach, there are the deep and unthinking ranks of labor union and Sierra Club elites who want either to keep immigration off the agenda or, with the AFL/CIO and many church officials, open the borders permanently.

But he sketches, without full clarity, a plan for mobilizing the "mass base" on which liberal elites stand and claim authority. The program seems to consist of a left-of-center package of labor and consumer protection measures with a more generous (though, of course, purged of "excesses") welfare state, to include health insurance — plus "defensive nationalism," which must mean immigration curbs and a "non-aggressive foreign policy." The idea is to launch a populist movement, carried forward by a "broader patriotic and regenerative nationalist party." He rightly directs our attention to the European continent, where parties and positions are being re-shaped around the stresses of mass immigration, as Levy describes them, and the "defensive nationalist" sentiments around which Wolpin would mobilize a reform movement.

This is enormously interesting, but these articles end too soon. Wolpin may have given up on the current generation of liberal elites, but political movements need leadership — elites, by definition. A new, defensive nationalist reform movement resting on the votes of the alienated liberal-Democratic masses would require leadership, ideas, and language that are nowhere to be seen in the U.S. These are now stifled beneath the PC blanket kept in place by media and opinion-shapers, be general timidity, and by the stupefying vapors of post-Cold War and post-business cycle euphoria. Even tentative thoughts in this

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direction frighten into contemporary minds the memories of Hitler and Peron and Haider (whatever he is) abroad, Huey Long at home. Immigration is assumed to belong to the Right side of politics, though the early, inchoate stirrings of immigration restriction-tinged political movements in Europe give mixed signals.

It would steady our nerves, and broaden our sense of the possible, to "Have We Lost the Liberals?" recall the careers of reformer Theodore Roosevelt, and that other nationalist Roosevelt a generation later. The first was a vocal immigration reformer who was never called a "nativist" because his message was never anti-immigrant, and he aroused and led a multi-faceted progressive political mobilization that is now understood to have been the first phase of modern liberalism.

The second, Hyde Park Roosevelt's 13-year, regenerative presidency dealt reasonably well with America's problems with virtually no immigrants at all to do the nation's low-paid work. Their nationalism took the form at home of a commitment to mending America and Americans first, with an equal emphasis upon conserving the natural environment.

Why, in light of such careers, do contemporary liberals assume that the desire to limit immigration cannot find a home and be an integral part of a center-left politics? You were right, Ed Levy — a lot of people are prisoners of a mis-remembered past and unnourished by a past they have forgotten. ■

Liberalism and America's Immigration Policy

by John Attarian

Economism, explored earlier, is generating many of the specious arguments for immigration. However, America's other dominant ideology — liberalism — not only spawned our immigration problem, but works powerfully to prevent its solution.

Since every human group's bedrock priorities are survival and reproduction, a nation's top priority is conservative: to preserve itself as a going concern, providing a civilized environment conducive to the flourishing and reproduction of its native population. Hence the only proper criterion for evaluating immigration is national self-interest — which entails preserving domestic tranquillity and, yes, our European-based identity and way of life.

Liberalism's very nature all but precludes assessment of immigration on those tough-minded grounds. Liberalism flows from a Rousseauean view of man as a good being corrupted by bad institutions, hence perfectible through social reform. One consequence is relentless sentimentalism, manifest in calls for tolerance, sensitivity, open-mindedness, compassion and even guilt toward others. Liberalism is, moreover, inherently expansive, holding that the broader and more indiscriminate these feelings are, the greater one's virtue and idealism. It culminates in global altruism, feeling and sacrificing for strangers who are not even Americans. Thus liberalism has consistently sided with immigrants and against restrictionists. Liberal discussions of immigration and related measures such as California's Proposition 187, invoke not American self-interest, but the plight of immigrants, even illegals, usually with tearjerking rhetoric and anecdotes.

Another consequence is commitment to impartiality, open-mindedness and universalism: one must not be "prejudiced," or "discriminate" in favor of one's own interests, kind, nation, religion, race, or against those who are different. Precisely this liberal imperative generated the Immigration Reform Act of 1965, which was intended explicitly to end the national origins quota system's pro-European tilt.[1] National interest did not require the change; today's

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mass immigration, and all its bad consequences, are the totally gratuitous fruits of liberalism.

Liberalism also disregards uncongenial realities and those who warn of problems likely to arise from adopting liberal policies. Counsels of prudence and realism have little or no purchase on the liberal mind. Thus those who prophesied that the 1965 Act would lead to an immigration explosion were dismissed.[2]

"Liberalism usually meets opposition with intimidation, not persuasion."

By nature liberalism is also extremely critical of America. Liberals deem themselves a "civilized minority," an island of enlightenment and sophistication in a sea of crass materialism and philistinism. As early as the Twenties, liberal intellectuals openly despised America and most Americans.[3] Liberals' primary loyalty is not to the America that is, but to the America they want. They see themselves as America's self-appointed critics and redeemers, saving her from herself through social engineering (busing, progressive education, affirmative action, feminism, etc.). Over the decades liberal carping intensified. The virulent domestic anti-Americanism Paul Hollander chronicled[5] was merely liberalism taken to its logical conclusions.

Moreover, liberalism usually meets opposition with intimidation, not persuasion: character assassination; epithets; accusations of lack of compassion, bigotry, sexism, racism, etc.

The ruthless application of this browbeating by liberalism's ubiquitous enforcers in the media, academe and elsewhere makes most Americans submit to liberalism's agenda out of sheer appeasement. Also, most of us have experienced lifelong liberal indoctrination from public schools, politicized churches, and the media. Liberalism also has powerful psychological appeals: to the desires to expiate guilt, appear virtuous, and feel good about oneself.

Then, too, as an embodied soul, man has an inherent desire for transcendence — to surpass himself and the limits of space and time. Liberalism diverts this ultimately religious sentiment to service to its favored groups, even to all humanity. Because the desire for transcendence makes us highly susceptible to expansive sentimentalism and to appeals to self-sacrifice for larger, "higher" causes, it lends liberalism immense, insidious strength.

Importantly, liberal "idealism" chimes too with American exceptionalism — the belief that America is a nation set apart, exempt from reality's limits and tragedies, with a national mission, not a national interest; not a home for a specific people with a unique identity, but a showcase for humanity; that our purpose is not to survive and flourish like normal people throughout history, but to show those benighted outlanders how to make an ideal society.

The Dangers of Liberalism

Unfortunately, liberalism is a dangerous mentality. By putting a premium on suspension of critical judgment, submission to the demands of the "disadvantaged," and readiness to forfeit one's legitimate interests for their sake, liberal "virtues" undermine and destroy societies that embrace them. Enshrining "tolerance" makes the index of virtue how much dereliction, threat to one's interests, outrage, or evil one is willing to put up with. "Sensitivity" pegs virtue to willingness to blink dereliction, even wrongdoing, and unwillingness to pronounce censure, for fear of wounding others. "Compassion" makes virtue rest on readiness to extend sloppy, nonjudgmental sympathy promiscuously. "Open-mindedness" necessarily entails receptivity to subversive notions, and weakens vigilance and critical judgment.[6]

Liberalism's intimidation machine demands that one submit to the demands of liberals and their pet groups to prove one's virtue; attempts to resist, to defend oneself, are proof that one lacks these "virtues" and is guilty of liberalism's cardinal sins: bigotry, intolerance, racism, etc. Indeed, liberalism's guilt, "ideals" and browbeating combine to make its believers practicing, self-loathing masochists, almost consciously desiring abuse and humiliation by "victims." Liberalism calls for self-dismantlement, even self-annihilation, as proof of "virtue."

Neither individuals nor societies can function, much less prevail in life's struggles, without an

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axiomatic affirmation of their right to exist and worthiness to survive. Liberalism does not make this affirmation. Indeed, since it is all about social criticism and reform, taking a reflexively adversarial, willfully alienated, faultfinding position toward its own society, it cannot. Rather, its "virtues" and intimidation mechanism fetter survival and legitimate self-assertion to guilt. One then has a stark choice: surrender to others' demands and acquiesce in one's own disadvantage or destruction, or be branded by liberals as "immoral."

Thus liberalism disarms its practitioners in the face of threats or challenges from those seen as disadvantaged or radically different, and leaves them unable to say No when they should say No. As James Burnham grimly noted, "Liberalism, and the ideas, sentiments and values to which liberalism gives priority, are not well designed for the stark issue of survival."[7]

Indeed, history shows that societies dominated by liberalism are ill-equipped to defend themselves against dangers foreign or domestic. Liberal, pacifist, appeasing England could not cope with Hitler. Liberal America failed miserably at crime control. We made progress only when we forsook liberal approaches, keeping violent criminals and repeat offenders imprisoned and restoring capital punishment. Britain permitted massive nonwhite immigration after World War II and now has — just as Enoch Powell, that pariah of British liberals, predicted — an ugly race problem. Since Britain, unlike America, had virtually no indigenous nonwhite population, this running sore is entirely gratuitous, a self-inflicted wound courtesy of liberal "idealism."

Liberalism, Race, Immigration and National Interest

Thus, insofar as Americans are liberal, or swayed by liberal arguments, emoting, and browbeating, they are unable to confront the national danger posed by mass immigration. Moreover — and this is decisive — because virtually all of today's immigration is nonwhite, the immigration debate is fatefully, perhaps fatally, warped by liberal race dogmas.

On race, liberal "virtues," guilt, and moral intimidation attain peak power and intensity, amounting to religious zeal. This is partly due to irrational guilt-wallowing over slavery and nonwhite poverty, generating a belief that nonwhites' hostility is appropriate, and a mania for atonement. Liberals have, too, an obsessive desire to prove that they are not racists. Hence they disparage and penalize whites, appease and favor nonwhites, and deny or rationalize nonwhite violent crime and anti-white racism. Moreover, precisely because nonwhites are visibly, self-evidently different from whites, treating them as interchangeable with whites, indeed discriminating in their favor, is liberals' most perfect demonstration of virtue and transcendence of reality: You are different, but I will act as if the difference does not exist. In so doing, I override reality, bend it to my will, subordinate it to my ideals, and become like God.

"Thus liberalism disarms its practitioners in the face of threats or challenges ... and leaves them unable to say No when they should say No."

This is the mentality of a secular religion. One who dissents is thus a heretic, hence must be crushed without mercy.

Not only did liberalism's secular religion regarding race generate the 1965 Immigration Act and therefore the resulting problems, it makes most liberals reflexively favor the immigrants because they are nonwhite, and blink immigration's problems, such as the dangerous racial and ethnic frictions between Americans and immigrants, and among immigrants themselves, and the Balkanization of America. It also makes discussion of immigration in terms of national interest almost impossible. If the lying, self-serving arguments of economism ("our computer industry needs immigrants; immigrants don't displace native labor or depress wages; immigration causes prosperity") are "conservatism's" contribution to the immigration debate, liberalism's are a mawkish, cliché-ridden sentimentalism that stupefies critical thought, leaning on American exceptionalism, America's being "a nation of immigrants" (which is

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not true), Americans being "a people dedicated to a proposition" (ditto), and the Statue of Liberty — and a race-baiting reign of terror that virtually precludes any debate at all. Not only do liberals themselves tar immigration opponents as xenophobes, nativists, and racists, but economites routinely borrow liberalism's tarbrush, proof of its power. (See the editorial pages of *The Wall Street Journal* and *The Detroit News*.)

Liberalism's adversarial stance toward America and its European majority makes it at best indifferent, at worst hostile, to the survival of our European culture and majority population. Their disappearance is even deemed desirable. Reduction of the despised whites to a dispossessed minority — the inevitable outcome of sustained mass immigration, given immigrants' higher fertility — will presumably liquidate whites' social, political and economic advantages, hence liquidate their power to practice "racism." Obsessed with racial guilt and self-loathing, liberalism sees this not as a national disaster to be averted, but as a consummation devoutly to be wished. Indeed, Raspail's *The Camp of the Saints* merely takes liberal race dogmas applied to immigration to their logical conclusion: national suicide.

Observe that liberals very seldom consider whether mass immigration serves America's national interest. This is not an issue for them. Rather, they care about whether immigration serves their agendas, and whether they themselves have "politically correct" attitudes about immigrants. Their only effort to align their agendas with national interest is to chant that "our diversity is our strength." Far from being legitimate anxiety for the survival of America's majority and sound grounds for immigration curtailment, concern over the loss of our European-based culture and way of life and the dispossession and biological displacement of European-Americans through immigration is "Eurocentric," "xenophobic," "racist."

Tellingly, liberal Edward Abbey was damned by liberals as a "xenophobe" for opposing immigration — for example, by a reviewer in *The Nation*, on the strength of *one paragraph* in *Down the River*.[8] His essay "Immigration and Liberal Taboos," which attacked immigration on hardheaded national-interest grounds, was rejected by numerous liberal publications. Upon publication, Abbey was again tarred as a "xenophobe" and "racist."[9] If a liberal opposes immigration, his ideology demands that he argue, as did Michael Lind, that immigration hurts liberalism's favored groups — organized labor, the poor, minorities. Or he may argue that immigration threatens another liberal value: environmental protection. But this will generate substantial liberal support for immigration restriction only if environmentalism trumps liberal race dogmas, an uncertain prospect.

"...for liberals to embrace radical immigration restriction would require, in effect, that they admit the lethal flaws of their own belief system and renounce it."

Since our lunatic immigration policy and its negative consequences are liberalism's children, for liberals to embrace radical immigration restriction would require, in effect, that they admit the lethal flaws of their own belief system and renounce it. This is in most cases highly unlikely. Like all ideologies, liberalism is a secular religion, adopted because it meets deep emotional and psychological needs of its believers. Renouncing it is analogous to deprogramming a Moonie.

As Thomas Fleming wrote, "Our survival depends upon our willingness to look reality in the face." Liberalism, like economism, is a mind-scrambling ideology destroying that willingness. We must renounce liberalism's lethal "idealism" of rebellion against reality, unlimited altruism and surrender, and robustly affirm America's right to exist, and with a stable identity as a primarily European country. We must make a central, honored place in our pantheon of ideals for our own survival and flourishing. Realism and national interest is the only sane approach to immigration. The ideologies blinding us to reality have to go. ■

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NOTES

[1] Lawrence Auster, *The Path to National Suicide: An Essay on Immigration and Multiculturalism* (Monterey, VA: American Immigration Control Foundation, 1990), p.10ff.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Christopher Lasch, *The True and Only Heaven: Progress and Its Critics* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1991), p.416ff.

[4] For a searching critique of liberalism and its social engineering, see Paul Edward Gottfried, *After Liberalism: Mass Democracy in the Managerial State* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).

[5] Paul Hollander, *Anti-Americanism: Critiques at Home and Abroad, 1965-1990* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

[6] I have criticized these and other aspects of liberalism at length elsewhere. See John Attarian, "In Dispraise of Tolerance, Sensitivity and Compassion," *The Social Critic* vol.3, no.2 (Spring 1998), pp.14-23.

[7] James Burnham, *Suicide of the West: An Essay on the Meaning and Destiny of Liberalism* (New York: John Day, 1964), p.281.

[8] Wendell Berry, "A Few Words in Favor of Edward Abbey," in James R. Hepworth and Gregory McNamee, eds., *Resist Much, Obey Little: Some Notes on Edward Abbey* (Salt Lake City: Dream Garden Press, 1985), pp.9-11. See also Gregory McNamee, "Scarlet 'A' on a Field of Black," in Ibid., pp.30-31.

[9] Edward Abbey, *One Life At a Time, Please* (New York: Henry Holt, 1988), pp.1-3.

[10] Michael Lind, "Hiring From Within," *Mother Jones*, July-August 1998, pp.60-63. *Mother Jones* had rejected Abbey's essay (Abbey, *One Life at a Time, Please*, p.2).

[11] Thomas Fleming, "A Not So Wonderful Life," *Chronicles*, July 1990, p.12.

Pragmatic Liberalism

by B. Meredith Burke

As we enter the year 2000 I can turn my attention to national politics. I hereby declare my availability for the job of U.S. president. If nominated, I will run. If elected, I will serve.

What other alternative does a demographic realist and feminist have?

Since 1966 I have focused on three professional goals: to achieve a long-term national population policy, to increase support for programs fostering global ecological sustainability, and to assure all women have knowledge of and access to the range of family planning services, including abortion.

No party has emitted a whisper about how it proposes to avert an ecologically disastrous population of 1 billion Americans by the year 2115. No politician has acknowledged that Third World nations can achieve a higher standard of living only if the U.S. drastically scales back its own resource consumption.

No party has displayed willingness to go to the mat to preserve the reproductive rights of women.

***B. Meredith Burke, Ph.D.**, a demographer who has worked here and abroad, is Population Policy Advisor to the Ecology Center of Southern California.*

Our population has exceeded the ecologically sustainable ceiling of 150 million ever since 1950. In 1972 the President's Commission on Population Growth and America urged Congress to adopt a national policy to stem population growth. The commission noted continued population growth would destroy not just our environment but the lifestyle Americans cherished.

We can enjoy small, compact cites, single-family homes, and uncrowded and accessible wilderness and farmlands only with a population base well below the one Congress instead delivered us to.

The day of demographic reckoning is long overdue. Under present policies and given our 65-year doubling time, equal to that of India's, our current 270 million-plus population will reach 500 million by the year 2050. A true leader would ask us to gird ourselves for the vital but painful policies re-attaining a sustainable population will entail. Craven political "leaders" instead endorse "managing growth," not stopping it.

They could learn from medical science. An optimal size, not unchecked growth, is a healthy organism's goal. Pathology, be it gigantism or cancer, results from unchecked growth. Physicians don't talk of "accommodating" growth; they seek and remove the

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underlying causes. Patients tolerate treatment side effects because they endorse the goal of stopping malignant growth.

Population growth is now the foe of both land and lifestyle. University of Colorado physicist Al Bartlett has rightly compared "smart growth" to a first-class ticket on the Titanic.

Al Gore, who claims environmentalist credentials, has been mute on U.S. population growth implications.

When a young New Hampshire woman working at

The Liberal Case for Immigration Reform

[*On August 15, 1996, Dr. Burke wrote a "manifesto" as a founding document for a group to be called "Liberals for Immigration Reform."*]

WHEREAS we believe that those governing a society have primary obligations to the electorate to safeguard the environment and the health of current residents and to pass along a self-sustaining and healthy environment to our descendants; and

WHEREAS, two governmental commissions in 1972 and 1996 have recommended in strongest terms a population stabilization policy for the United States, acknowledging the implications for immigration policy; and

WHEREAS, signs of an overstressed environment are clearly evident in depleted fisheries, unhealthy air quality, paved-over farmland permanently removed from crop-growing for all generations to come, congested, still-growing urban populations swollen beyond those endorsed by Americans in repeated polls, and a level of resource consumption that is draining the globe as well as our country; and

WHEREAS, the legislators of the Democratic Party and the boards of several progressive environmental protection organizations, traditionally the defenders of the environment and civic well-being, have consistently rejected calls by Party and organization members for demographic and environmental accountability for their actions in the area of immigration, now and for the foreseeable future the primary source (and by the year 2030, the sole source, counting in the descendants of post-1970 newcomers) of all this country's population increase; and

WHEREAS, numerous scholars have now confirmed what members of our minority and poor communities have personally experienced, that the employment, housing, schools, and life chances of our most disadvantaged citizens have been adversely affected by the large influx of newcomers,

WE HEREBY band together to strengthen the voice of liberals calling for environmentally rational population and immigration policies and immigration reform.

WE CALL FOR:

- the promulgation of a national population goal consistent with ecological limits *and* the city size and wilderness access endorsed by the majority of Americans.
- a legal requirement that all federal policies dealing with the sources of population growth — childbearing and immigration — must be consistent with the accepted goals.
- a legal requirement that all federal actions/policies must consider the resulting regional effects (environmental and demographic) and must refrain from adding to the burden disproportionately assumed by regions experiencing the bulk of recent population growth, environmental deterioration, and the loss of irreplaceable wetlands and other ecologically essential natural habitats.
- a legal requirement for an agricultural policy favoring family farms and the retention of a land-based rural population; and withholding public subsidies, including reduced water rates, from large agricultural corporations.
- a national referendum if necessary on support for U.S. funding of international family planning efforts to reduce the demographic pressures fueling high levels of immigration.

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an herbalist store asked candidate Bill Bradley how he could keep touting economic growth given our finite resource endowment, Bradley initially did not even understand her question. A *New York Times* reporter first placed the woman into the category of "hostile questioner." Then, after Bradley gave a temporizing response, the reporter asked her if she had a preference among the candidates. Reaching the same conclusion as I, she replied she would prefer to vote for herself.

Meanwhile, at his last press conference of the century, President Clinton explained his efforts to gain a World Trade Organization accord with China. Saying it was in both our economic and strategic interest, he opted for a constructive rather than a confrontational relationship with China. This was especially so over "the next several decades, as China's economy grows to match the size of its population."

Regardless of one's stance on U.S./China relations, one should understand that China's economy cannot emulate that of today's United States. John Ryan, research director of Seattle's Northwest Environment Watch, points out that if the entire world (China equaling about 25 percent) had the auto usage of North America, global petroleum consumption would quadruple and emissions of heat-trapping carbon dioxide would double "even as climatologists agree that we need to cut back globally by 60 percent or more to save our climate." Petroleum reserve experts such as L.F. Ivanhoe of the Colorado School of Mines and Richard Duncan of the Institute on Energy and Man foresee a peaking of world oil production by 2010, then a permanent decline.

Our politicians understandably, but reprehensibly, wish to avoid asking how North Americans can curtail their resource use by redefining the good life and re-engineering society to achieve it without insupportable resource demands.

Ironically, as political parties sidestep patently federal responsibilities, they have intruded into the most personal of all realms, that of sex and childbearing. The good ol' boys of both major parties plus the Reform Party treat control of women's bodies as a negotiable.

Consider the insulting ease with which Reform Party powers abandoned its plank favoring legal abortion when Pat Buchanan, a legal abortion foe, asserted his suitability as the party's nominee. Consider Rep. Chris Smith blackmailing the administration by tying approval of U.N. funding to strictures on reproductive health care funding — and the administration's caving in on this.

What if Rep. Smith had demanded a repeal of the 14th Amendment?

Would not the entire country have denounced this attempt to reinstate slavery? Clearly, it is acceptable to partially enslave women in a way that enslavement by race no longer is.

Until politicians find using reproductive autonomy as a "trading chip" morally repugnant, women will not be totally free.

So I declare my candidacy — of the as-yet-unformed "Sustainability Party." I endorse pragmatic liberalism, a philosophy that recognizes hard choices are unavoidable in a world with limits. My platform exalts ecological survival and reproductive responsibility, and I propose a congressionally binding national referendum among all registered voters to determine support for a rational population policy.

I possess singular qualifications. Via the Internet I can already muster thousands of supporters. My dozens of newspaper columns on population, environment, abortion rights, and immigration are posted on countless Web sites. I am past chairperson of the National Women's Political Caucus of San Diego, and a veteran of one Renaissance Institute Weekend. A Ph.D. demographer and specialist on Japanese female labor force patterns, I have consulted in Africa and the Caribbean. As a specialist on health policy and bioethics, I co-authored a book on sociological and ethical aspects of prenatal testing. For the past year I co-hosted a cable TV program in Santa Barbara, "Environmentally Yours."

In a lighter vein, I bake chocolate chip cookies famous around the world. And, although I don't play the saxophone, I did once study singing at the Stanford Jazz Workshop.

Though I am not kidding about wanting to run for president, I do see that my lack of 100 million dollars makes this unlikely.

Therefore, I keep seeking a candidate who will endorse ecological pragmatism, nonnegotiable reproductive rights, and environmental survival.

So far I have not found him. ■

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Immigration and America's Promise

Immigration reform through the eyes of Jack Kemp

by Jack Kemp

Now, as always, immigrants have been a vital part of our nation's economic, political and social development. That is why our friends and neighbors abroad may wonder why immigration policy in the United States, the ultimate nation of immigrants, has not only been contentious, but often acrimonious.

Like every important issue in a free, democratic nation, the immigration debate reflects a healthy tension that resolves itself through the political process. Citizens who may see their economic interests jeopardized by new immigrants have the power to shape the laws that protect those interests, while the nation as a whole continues to enjoy the long-term benefits of our openness to new immigrants. That means U.S. immigration law may not be a model of logical consistency and legal elegance, but it works.

It also means, however, that few people are ever satisfied with our immigration laws, which remain in a constant state of evolution. As is the case with our tax code, immigration rules and procedures are shaped ad hoc, responding to the crisis of the moment.

A case in point is the H-1 B visa program, an exception to the general framework of U.S. immigration policy that allows us to admit more highly skilled immigrants to meet the economic needs of high-tech industries experiencing critical shortages of workers with specialized training. Right now, there is wide support in Congress to increase the number of workers allowed temporary entry to the United States under H-1 B status to fill jobs which are vital to our continued economic expansion.

This is an important issue because high-tech is one area where we need as free-flowing a labor market as we can get. But it's not the only issue on the immigration agenda. There is also a need for some legislative "clean-up" provisions to rescue from bureaucratic limbo workers already here, on the job and helping to make our economy grow. These clean-up reforms are just good sense and don't require any change in basic immigration law or an increase in the overall number of legal immigrants.

The heart-wrenching case of Elian Gonzalez, the 6-year-old Cuban boy rescued at sea after his mother and nine others drowned attempting to escape from Cuba on a raft, riveted the nation's attention on just one example of the lengths to which people will go to escape tyranny and poverty and seek a better life in America. Today in America there are thousands of other cases, if not as well-known as Elian's, which carry into the 21st century the moving narrative of immigrants abandoning their homes and struggling to make a new life in this land we like to think of as a Shining City on a Hill.

Four simple adjustments to the law I have in mind deal exclusively with working aliens already in the United States — workers from war-torn Central American countries — who have established a solid track record as law-abiding citizens supporting families and paying taxes, and close family members who seek to rejoin immigrant workers who

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are either U.S. citizens or permanent residents. All these reforms would promote traditional American values such as diligence, hard work, family unity and putting down roots.

These reforms would allow Salvadorans, Guatemalans, Hondurans and Haitians to apply for document status just as already has been done for Cubans and Nicaraguans; allow undocumented workers of good character who have resided in the U.S. many years to apply for documented status; allow those who have lost their status as legal residents, but remain eligible to become permanent residents, to remain in the U.S. while seeking to regain their status; and help reduce family backlogs by providing more visas for close family members of citizens and permanent residents.

Immigration laws establish the legal framework that allows Congress and the courts to control the flow of immigrants and legal aliens into the United States. But the indomitable human spirit doesn't first hire a lawyer before fleeing a situation it finds intolerable and getting on a raft or swimming a river to freedom and opportunity in America.

As Ronald Reagan reminded us in speaking of the Statue of Liberty's torch, "The glistening hope of that lamp is still ours. Every promise, every opportunity is still golden in this land. And through that golden door our children can walk into tomorrow with the knowledge that no one can be denied the promise that is America."

The fact is, in a land as free and open as ours, there always will be more people who want to enter than we can accommodate under our laws. That is a profound vote of confidence in the American dream And just as surely, there will always be a certain percentage who succeed in forging a life in the U.S. and assimilate in our society sufficiently to become, after many years here, "citizens" in all but name — what one might think of as "common law citizens" — as much citizens of this land as were many of our immigrant forefathers. These true stakeholders in America deserve a chance to gain full citizenship status, and that obliges us to review and adjust our laws on occasion to make that possible. To do anything less is to dim Liberty's lamp. ■

On Foreigners, Kemp Borders on Foolish

by Don Feder

Former congressman and vice presidential candidate Jack Kemp — who has to be the most clueless Republican in creation — is leading a drive to undermine America with more immigration.

As Bob Dole's running mate, Kemp rendered an embarrassing performance of pandering for minority votes that ultimately proved futile.

Undaunted, the GOP panderbear is back. Allied with Henry Cisneros, President Clinton's first secretary of housing and urban development, Kemp is calling for an increase in legal immigration and an amnesty for 400,000 illegal aliens.

America is already awash with the foreign-born. They aren't anything like Emma Lazarus' "huddled masses yearning to breathe free." They aren't appropriately grateful to be here. In fact, in all too many cases, they have either their hands out or their fists raised.

In 1998, we had 26.3 million legal immigrants, who represented 9.8 percent of the total population. That's more than double the percentage of 1970. Between 1990 and 1998, immigrants and their children

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Don Feder is a nationally-syndicated columnist. This item is © 2000 by Creators Syndicate and is reprinted by permission.

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accounted for 70 percent of total population growth.

Another amnesty for those who wiped their feet on our laws as they entered this country? Why not? The last one worked so well.

In 1986, we offered amnesty to those who'd been here illegally since 1982. More than 3 million took advantage of the program.

Amnesties send a message to border-jumpers: If you can elude the authorities long enough, eventually you'll get a green card. That was the effect of the 1986 amnesty. According to the National Council of La Raza, a Hispanic advocacy group, between 1980 and 1990, the number of illegals grew by over 60 percent.

"Amnesties send a message to border-jumpers: If you can elude the authorities long enough, eventually you'll get a green card. That was the effect of the 1986 amnesty."

According to the Census Bureau, post-1980 immigrants are poorer and less educated than the population as a whole. Among 1990-1998 immigrants, 35 percent lack a high school diploma (compared to 9 percent of the native-born). The poverty rate for all immigrants is 50 percent higher than for natives.

The National Center for Policy Analysis notes that in 1980, fewer than 9,000 criminal aliens were incarcerated in state and federal prisons. 9,000 criminal aliens were incarcerated in state and federal prisons. By 1994, more than 450,000 aliens were guests of our penal system.

Thanks to immigration, English as our common language is rapidly disappearing. Minnesota Legal Assistance is suing to have welfare applications printed in other languages. Why should an inability to speak English be a bar to a parasitic existence?

According to the March 30 *Philadelphia Inquirer*, immigrant store-owners in the city are complaining about the lack of health inspectors who can communicate with them in their native tongue.

The head of the Korean-American Grocers Association told the newspaper that most of his group's 970 members speak little or no English. God forbid that someone should come here, open a business and bother to learn our language.

Most Americans have at least an intuitive grasp of the problem. In an October 1999 Pew Research Center poll, 72 percent mostly or completely agreed with the statement, "We need more restrictions and controls on immigration."

Besides throwing away a legitimate issue with overwhelming public support, by embracing liberal immigration policy Republicans are committing slow suicide.

Due almost exclusively to new immigrant voters, Democrats now dominate California politics, controlling all but two statewide offices, along with huge majorities in the Legislature.

Statewide, Mexican-Americans are voting Democratic by a 3-1 ratio. In March, Vice President Al Gore led Gov. George Bush by a whopping 41 points among Hispanics, despite the latter's Spanish speeches and immigration positions virtually identical to Gore's.

Kemp would say Republicans are paying for their support of Proposition 187, the 1994 ballot measure to cut off government services for illegal aliens.

But even if Republicans embraced open borders, many of the new immigrants are the low-income benefit-seekers who are the Democratic Party's natural constituency. Unless it decides to get into a bidding war with the opposition on government goodies, the GOP can't overcome the Democrats' advantage here.

Like Sen. John McCain, Kemp is a Republican who craves the media's acclaim. "Isn't he progressive. Isn't he humane," commentators will croon over this latest instance of Kempian compassion. That it's bad for his party, and awful for America, doesn't figure into Kemp's calculations. ■

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Amnesty Ad Infinitum

How much are beaver skins worth?

by Diana Hull

Amnesty for illegal aliens in the United States is the ultimate immigrant benefit. It is now a joint goal of the Clinton Administration and the Latino Caucus in Sacramento which is pushing a legislative package that contains new, as well as decades old, Hispanic interest group entitlement proposals.

The Caucus also wants more "human rights" and "justice" bills to "protect minority and immigrant communities from hate crimes and violence." This kind of legislation has been useful in muzzling opponents and will increase the power of statewide "Human Relations Commissions " to challenge what can be said about immigration and immigrants.

These bills, plus the recommendation for another amnesty, comprise a cluster of related legislation introduced by California's newest Latino lawmakers in the past year and a half.

Hispanics are now 14.5 percent of registered voters in California, compared to 10 percent in 1990, and gave Democrat Gray Davis a 78-18 percent majority of the Latino vote in the 1998 Governor's race. Al Gore had a 58-17 edge over George Bush with California's Hispanic voters in the recent presidential primary.[1]

A third of the approximately 6 million illegal aliens in the United States live in California, so the best way to further increase the Democrat majority, especially in our state, is by forgiving illegal entry over and over again.[2] Right now, the Clinton administration and the California legislature are working in tandem on this issue, apparently unconcerned about how amnesties further encourage defiance of the law. Few lessons were learned in the wake of the 1986 amnesty — a fiasco that Robert Suro of the *New York Times* called "one of the most extensive immigration frauds ever perpetuated against the U.S. government."

But California's Latino Caucus can be optimistic that they will prevail eventually in their legislative battles because the force of demography is a readily-realized probability, and the numbers are on their side.[3] The immediate future looks promising too. California's Governor Gray Davis believes that U.S. strength is in its diversity[4] and his Lieutenant Governor agrees. Cruz Bustamonte, is the first Latino to hold that office in over 100 years.

The Assemby Majority Leader is Antonio Villaraigosa, ex- MEChA (Moviemento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan) activist and former president of the Southern California ACLU. Assemblyman Villaraigosa was the only Latino elected official to speak at the "Latino March" in Washington, D.C. where he touted the legislation promoted by the Latino leadership in Sacramento and spoke fervently about the right of "undocumented people" to free medical care and education through college. He demanded another amnesty for those living in the U.S. illegally.

Last May, Speaker Villaraigosa joined Mexican President Zedillo in addressing the California Legislature. Although both men are thoroughly fluent in English, they both made their speeches in Spanish. Then Mr. Villariagosa stood and began the Chicano "handclap." Without knowing what they were doing, (as calls to their offices confirmed) the rest of the legislators joined this spirited display of ethnic nationalism and started clapping too. Of course any high school or college student in Southern California has heard this sound, "clap-clap, clap-clap-clap" and

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understands its meaning. Like displaying the Mexican flag, it is the MEChA trademark clap and hails "Chicano Power."

When Speaker Villairogosa was campaigning on behalf of 46th District Assemblyman Gil Cedillo, he advised voters in Spanish that "Congressional welfare reform was an attack on our people, intended to punish our immigrant companions and to punish our community." Reversing these unwanted changes and adding more benefits is a broad public policy objective for Hispanic groups nationally and these goals are pursued most actively in California where they meet less resistance and have the best chance for continued success.

There is a belief in immigrant victimization which underlies this preferential treatment agenda. Laws that require special dispensations, preferences and taxpayer subsidies were not originally the invention of immigrants themselves. These ideas came from the liberal foundations who laid out the strategy of redress and supported those efforts with significant grants beginning decades ago.

Professor Miles D. Wolpin[5] points out that assigning a morally superior position and legal status to ethnic minorities, even those who break the law, "intensifies resentment and alienation among lower middle class and working class majorities." There are some small signs that such considerations may eventually have an effect on California's non-Hispanic Democrat legislators.

This is born out by the votes that were cast, and those *not* cast, on certain immigrant entitlement bills offered so far in the 1999-2000 session. The voting was strictly along party lines, but when Democrats opposed part of the Latino agenda they usually abstained or were absent for the vote — an easier "out" than opposition up front.

Legislative Initiatives from the Latino Caucus

What follows is a sample of immigration-related bills that Latino Caucus members introduced in the California legislature in the past year. At this writing, the status of some of the bills is uncertain.

Assemblyman Gilbert Cedilla, of the 46th District, introduced AB 407 which would make "undocumented" immigrants (illegal aliens) a "protected class" under what is popularly known in California as the Unruh Civil Rights Act. This bill would outlaw discrimination of any kind against the "undocumented" and states that they can't be denied any "advantages, privileges or services" based on "immigration status." AB 407 was eventually vetoed by the governor. It will likely be reintroduced again.

This "protected status" measure was intended as both a sword and a shield to pre-empt any future challenge to giving the same benefits that are enjoyed by citizens to both legal *and* illegal aliens.

"The unspoken selling point [of the legislation] was that illegals were going to drive anyway, licensed or not, insured or not, so what was the harm in 'regularizing' reality!"

AB1463 (Cedillo) permits illegal aliens to get a driver's license, one of the most valuable and versatile of benefits. This bill passed the Assembly but was stalled in the Senate Transportation Committee last session. It came back in June of this year and would give illegal aliens tacit approval to work in California despite being prohibited from doing so by federal immigration laws.

Supporters of this bill claimed it was a public safety issue and would ensure that all drivers were tested. The unspoken selling point was that illegals were going to drive anyway, licensed or not, insured or not, so what was the harm in "regularizing" reality! Opponents of the bill argued that a driver's license is the most commonly accepted proof of identity. It is known as "the keys to the vault," a "breeder" document because with it you can identify yourself as a citizen, apply for subsidized housing, bank loans, and myriad benefits.

Each time this bill surfaced, the CAPS organization (Californians for Population Stabilization), five other California Immigration Reform groups, and FAIR (Federation for American Immigration Reform) alerted their members to lobby

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the Transportation Committee. In this instance two committee Democrats were willing to vote "no." The final outcome of this legislation is unknown at this writing.

The goals of the California Latino Caucus are virtually identical to those of the national Hispanic leadership. First on both lists are continuing amnesties and eventual voting rights for non-citizens. (Non-citizen voting occurs now on an unknown scale, either as result of bogus identification or because the "would be" voter is not asked about citizenship.) It is the permeability of the United States, combined with the increasing scope of "rights" legislation that intentionally blurs to invisibility whatever differences

"...[the bill] specifically makes pregnant 'undocumented immigrants' eligible for prenatal care."

are at least theoretically in place to distinguish between citizens, legal residents and illegal resident aliens.

To ensure that *all* immigrants are eligible for *all* benefits California bill AB 1107, for example, specifically makes pregnant "undocumented immigrants" eligible for prenatal care. This bill passed and was signed by the governor.

AB 43 and SB 92 gives "undocumented" immigrant children health insurance under the "Healthy Families Program," but no money for this benefit was incorporated into the budget at passage.

Stan Dorn, author of the study "HMO Marketing to Children," estimated that this insurance program would open up a $4.4 billion dollar market because the state was going to reimburse HMOs $992 a year for every child enrolled. Then the Republicans got into the act. A bill authored by Charlene Zettel (R-San Diego) was passed by the Assembly that would allow HMO's to contact families of such children directly.

AB 52 allows "undocumented" immigrants to receive various other medical services, including nursing home care, treatment for Alzheimer's disease, services for the developmentally disabled and mental health care. This bill cleared the Assembly and the Senate Health and Human Services Committee. For now, only the nursing home care provision survived as SB 708, and was signed by the governor.

AB 1197 allows "undocumented" immigrants to pay resident tuition at California universities, rather than out-of-state fees. The higher non-resident fees would still be charged to a citizen student from Ohio or Oregon. This issue, and the decision against the University of California granting "resident status" to illegals in the Bradford Case (1991), has the same emotional charge for Hispanic activists as *Roe v Wade* has for the pro-life lobby.

The University of California and MALDEF (Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund) fought for resident status for illegal alien college students all the way to the State Supreme Court, who refused to hear it. MALDEF lost twice, the second time representing the California State University system. In spite of these defeats, the Latino Caucus will not take "no" for an answer. No definitive action has been taken on this bill as of this writing but AB1197 is only the latest, and surely not the last attempt to reverse the court's decision by legislation.[6]

SJR18, a joint resolution, asked the federal government to give some relief to Imperial County, California by having the Border Patrol stop availing itself of the local 911 services. It requests this federal agency to reimburse Imperial County and private providers for medical care, autopsies and burial costs for "undocumented persons."

SB 1007 requires the California Department of Corrections to release "undocumented" alien felons in state prison to the INS upon completion of their sentences. This was considered an unfriendly bill by the Latino Caucus and was opposed by MALDEF who claimed the requirements pre-empted federal law. It was also opposed by the ACLU. At this writing, no action has been taken on this bill.

On March 2nd Assemblyman Gilbert Cedillo introduced AJR 51 whose most important provision was to ask the federal government to implement a new amnesty program, out of respect, the bill stated, for all the nation's workers. It would grant legal status to 500,000 Central Americans and Haitians, to 10,000 Liberians and to 350,000 (illegal) immigrants who

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were denied amnesty in 1986.

At about the same time, the AFL-CIO called for the repeal of employer sanctions (against hiring illegals) and for a massive amnesty for the approximately 6 million illegal aliens that live in the United States. This embrace of competition for American workers, especially union members, was a puzzling about face for a group that had historically tried to keep wages high. There was speculation about infiltration of the organization by outside forces, perhaps hostlle to labor's traditional concerns.

AJR 51, the "request for amnesty" bill, was defeated for the time being on May 8, likely due to heavy lobbying via e-mail, letters, faxes and phone calls by members of CAPS (Californians for Population Stabilization) and of FAIR (the Federation for American Immigration Reform). Ric Oberlink, a former CAPS executive director, testified for the organization in person. He told the legislators that the last amnesty of some 3 million illegal aliens had cost taxpayers about $78 billion over the first ten years, according to a study by the Washington, D.C.-based research group, Center for Immigration Studies.

Either ambivalence about this amnesty bill, or fear of opposing the Latino Caucus was evidenced by the 30 members of the Assembly who abstained, preventing the "ayes" from having enough votes for passage. In spite of this setback, bills that request amnesty for illegals are destined to join "resident tuition" as measures that will be introduced repeatedly as the California Latino Caucus grows. Success is only a matter of time unless citizens who oppose measures like this find out what is happening in Sacramento and decide to assert themselves.

Meanwhile, at the National Level...

In November of last year President Clinton informed Congress that he would veto any final appropriations bill that did not include a new amnesty provision for illegal aliens, but this add-on was later delayed until the following session. Attaching amnesties to appropriations bills has become a reliable tactic in this administration; the Haitian amnesty was passed in this way in 1998.

On May 11, 2000, NumbersUSA, a non-profit group that monitors U.S. population change, FAIR, CAPS and CCIR (California Coalition for Immigration Reform) informed their members that President Clinton was trying to use the full force of the White House to reward 1.5 million of the nation's illegal immigrants with permanent residence and the prospect of eventual citizenship. This was being attached as an amendment to the H1-B Visa bill.

Clinton's announcement put Republicans on the spot. If they didn't give Clinton his amnesty and he vetoed the spending bill, they could be blamed (again) for shutting down the government.

"...the AFL-CIO called for the repeal of employer sanctions (against hiring illegals) and for a massive amnesty for approximately 6 million illegal aliens..."

Roy Beck of NumbersUSA estimated that there would be about 700,000 amnesty applicants, but with the arrival of their family members, amnesty would add over 2 million more people to our already overcrowded country. A large percentage would settle in Southern California.

Now immigration rights organizations have filed class action lawsuits because their illegal alien clients not only want amnesty, but millions of dollars in damages for not being granted amnesty earlier under the current law.[7]

Meanwhile back in California, the AFL-CIO Immigrant Worker's Rights Forum was setting up demonstrations all over Los Angeles to support the new amnesty and the repeal of employer sanctions. Evidently, the union was now taking to heart what Assemblyman Cedillo had told the Southwest Voter's Registration Project attendees in 1997. At that meeting he had boasted that "Latinos are now central to union revitalization" because they have "displaced blacks and Anglos in the clothing, hotel and restaurant industries." Because of immigration and high birth rates (in our community) unions can be "partisan" he said, (in promoting) "full Latino empowerment."[8]

Other groups co-sponsored city-wide rallies for

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amnesty — the Teacher's Union, One-Stop Immigration, Hermanadad Mexicana Nacional, the familiar national and regional immigrant rights organizations and the Catholic Archdiocese of Los Angeles.

President Clinton was working hard for amnesty too. Why was an amnesty so important to him, you might wonder, when Hispanics make up less than 12 percent of the U.S. population? Well, 32 million of that 12 percent are concentrated in the states that deliver the big electoral votes: California, Florida, Texas, New York, New Jersey and Illinois. Hispanics register as Democrats in much larger numbers than as Republicans. That makes a big difference, especially in California where one million new Hispanic voters have registered in the last decade, marking the biggest change in the state's electorate since World War II. The other five states mentioned above are on the same track.

"But the most brilliant propaganda victory was the euphemism 'undocumented immigrant' for 'illegal alien'..."

Amnesties encourage more immigration and increasing immigrant benefits adds to the "pull" factor. Together they hasten the changes that will make the non-Hispanic population in California, and then nationwide, both numerical and ethnic minorities.

Mexico has a big stake in hastening this outcome. It means enhanced transfers of funds from the U.S. to Mexico. Increasing the $5 billion in remittances now sent home by U.S. residents of Mexican origin will continue to ease reformist pressure on their government. For this and other reasons Mexico wants to weaken both U.S. entry controls and interior enforcement and eventually make our two very different nations continuous.

The next "effort" to achieve this blurring of sovereignty is going to be the establishment of extensive bi-national areas straddling the U.S.-Mexican border. This will be defended as an expansion of commerce and could be the precursor to unhampered travel between the two countries, following the example of the European Union.[9]

Former President Zedillo was exceptionally public and forthright about where this policy is heading. In a speech in 1997 to the National Council of La Raza he said, "I have proudly affirmed that the Mexican nation extends beyond the territory enclosed by its borders." On this occasion he announced the proposed amendment to the Mexican constitution that would allow anyone with recent Mexican heritage, who was now a citizen of another country, to maintain Mexican nationality and voting rights in Mexico. This year, in an election won by Vicente Fox, all three Mexican presidential hopefuls had campaigned in Los Angeles, where Assemblyman Antonio Villairgosa is running for Mayor.

Mexican-Americans voting in Mexico's elections is a companion issue to voting rights in the United States for non-citizens. Advocates of this idea insist that all "residents" should be able to vote and that residency under state law is distinct from the person's immigration status under federal law. This is the same argument used in favor of resident tuition for illegal aliens in California colleges.

Progress toward all these objectives continues apace and accolades for the superior strategy of Hispanic political groups are warranted. Most astute is their manipulation of language, and the understanding it reveals about how the name you give to something can determine what you think about it.

Expensive public relations firms earned their fees when they came up with phrases like "the scapegoating of immigrants," (used in fighting Proposition 187) and "the greening of hate," (used against environmental groups who oppose immigration's contribution to increased population.)

But the most brilliant propaganda victory was the euphemism "undocumented immigrant" for "illegal alien," a term that by sheer repetition rendered an accurate description of status that is codified in law so pejorative that it became impermissible and transformed illegal aliens into folks with curable "legal paper deficiencies," i.e. the "differently documented immigrant."

This dishonest description is challenged

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infrequently, and certainly not in the California legislature where it is used in the titles and language of every bill dealing with a class of persons from whom the onus of wrongdoing has been successfully removed.

More immigration and "amnesty ad infinitum" interact with each other to ratchet up the growth of the nation even faster than experts have predicted. Frequent amnesties make illegality both temporary and reversible because illegal aliens are virtually never "removed" permanently once they reach the interior of the United States, and are rarely deported unless they are dangerous felons, and not always then.

Six million people live and work in the United States without permission, many for decades. They are able to do that partly because they cannot be asked routinely about their status — an inquiry that could violate their civil rights.

The precedent of the 1986 amnesty and subsequent amnesties, the availability of bogus identities, the conflicting mandates from Congress to the INS, and the reluctance of the public to be energized on this issue has made it possible for the most selfish of political and business interests to continue what writer Peter Brimelow has called a "stupid and evil policy"— stupid because cheap labor is not cheap and the demand for this temporary gratification is more than offset by its long term price; evil because a nation that stabilized its population in 1970 will now leave an overcrowded and very different country to its descendants — a place where serious ethnic strife is looming and where the bounty of nature can no longer be counted on to sustain its own citizens.

Yet immigration advocates insist that admitting more people is all for the best and associate restriction with pessimism and "wrong headed" populism. Yet, there is clearly no popular support in California for continuous growth and the resource depletion that follows. In fact, on few issues has such a large majority of voters made its wishes more perfectly clear to elected officials.

But instead of responding to the voters' mandate for a slowdown in demographic and cultural change, expressed in three successful initiatives: 187 (illegal alien benefits), 209 (affirmative action) and 227 (bilingual education), both President Clinton and Governor Davis are intent on garnering for their party even bigger Democrat majorities. This is the long term goal of the current amnesty efforts.

Democrats in our state now have a governor, two U.S. Senators and a majority in Sacramento in control of all the top state offices. But in an election year, they work for even bigger numbers, ASAP, although the ethnic, and therefore the political future of California is already assured. Seventy percent of all students in the Los Angeles Unified School District are Hispanic.

The fraud-ridden Citizens USA program and the Southwest Voter's Registration Project have been favorite vote-getting vehicles for Clinton and Gore.

"Frequent amnesties make illegality both temporary and reversible because illegal aliens are virtually never 'removed' permanently once they reach the interior of the United States..."

And door-to-door registration is a major activity for the dozens of pro-immigration Hispanic activist groups who receive millions in taxpayer funds and foundation largesse to sign people up to vote.

Assembly Bill 2000, by Speaker Villaraigosa, calls for a California Civil Rights Commission — a state agency to "prevent intergroup tensions" and a place where "bias-motivated incidents" can be dealt with. It would serve as a shield against those who may object to current immigration levels and the lessening of requirements for citizenship.

More than twenty so-called "hate violence" bills were introduced in the 1999-2000 session, revealing a concern that opposition to high immigration levels might erupt fairly soon. This is a well-founded fear because majority objections to current policy have been demonstrated by virtually every opinion poll that has been taken on the subject — not surprising since more than six million Californians voted for Proposition 187.

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Curbs on speech could constrain objections to a multiculturalism that many believe has run amok — a result of our virtually open borders and past amnesties — policies that increase California's unmanageably large population and interfere with the mutuality that comes from common cultural ideals. Immigration reductionists wonder: if diversity is so wonderful, why do we need these new initiatives to "reduce inter-group tension and hate crime?"

If the goal of the government is to eliminate our separation from Mexico in stages, then the response of federal authorities to protecting our borders becomes comprehensible. If illegal crossing will be forgiven eventually, it *is* wasteful of resources to try too hard to keep people out.

In Douglas, Arizona, it is ranchers who are arming to keep thousands of Mexican nationals from crossing their property, cutting their fences and breaking into their houses. The response from Washington has been "tepid," so a decision to permit this incursion has likely been made at the highest level. What other interpretation is possible when the means to stop it are withheld, and the psychology of an effective defense (that every war college teaches) has been turned on its head?

In *Scenes at Fort Laramie,* Francis Parkman described how the Dahcotah comported themselves in 1846 when new settlers lapsed in a show of their confidence. "They (the Dahcotahs) become ever more insolent and exacting in their demands," he wrote, "and with each demand acceded to, they become more presumptuous and rapacious. Any timorousness on the part of the settlers creates a very dangerous situation," he warned, "that mounts to a higher pitch with each concession" — after which the Indians "threaten them with more destruction or kill them." Parkman wrote that "military force and military law are urgently needed in this perilous region" and advised "a very bold bearing that commanded respect."

The behavior of our federal and state government today on our perilous border would surely embarrass the corps at Fort Laramie. Instead of a "bold bearing" we see self-serving inaction and political duplicity, reminiscent of the perfidy of the French trappers of 150 years ago who instigated those Indian attacks on American wagon trains — and all for the purpose of guarding their traffic in beaver skins. ■

NOTES

[1] Doug Willis of Associated Press in the *Orange County Register,* May 8, 2000.

[2] After the last amnesty, new citizens were created as quickly as possible with federal programs like Citizenship USA. This program rushed applicants through without the necessary checks, including large numbers of immigrants with criminal records.

[3] The "force of mortality" is the most commonly used example of instant-by-instant shrinking of the time when a known event will occur. In California, the demographic changes are hurtling forward at accelerating speed.

[4] From a speech delivered at the Southwest Voter's Registration Project Annual Conference, Summer 1998. When Gray Davis was a candidate for Governor he used "correct" code words and expressions when speaking to Hispanics — said he would appoint people "who look like you, " told about his visit with President Zedillo and how he would improve relations with Mexico and how "their community" did not deserve to be "scapegoated by propositions 187 and 209." (The author is indebted to the California Coalition for Immigration Reform who recorded the speech from which these quotes were taken.)

[5] See "Permissive Immigration vs Global Peace in the 21st Century" by Miles D. Wolpin, *The Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies*, Fall 1998, Vol.23, No. 3, pages 259-279.

[6] The story of David P. Bradford is an example of what one courageous person can do. He was fired from his job at UCLA for refusing to certify "undocumented" students as legal residents for tuition purposes. His suit against the University of California was filed in 1986 and dragged on for years. The most interesting part of the litigation was how the university gave "diversity" priority over legality.

[7] Immigrant rights attorney Peter Shey, plaintiff's attorney in the landmark Supreme Court Case, *Plyler v. Doe*, quoted in May 2000 issue, *Middle America News.*

[8] From a speech taped by representatives of California Coalition for Immigration Reform.

[9] President Clinton issued executive order No. 13122 on May 25, 1999 wherein the Southwest border "region" is defined as 150 miles north of the border between the United States and Mexico. There are a number of other bi-national initiatives in place.

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BUYING OPEN BORDERS *

Foundations play a major role in the immigration debate, but none more so than the Ford Foundation, the largest in the U.S. (or in the world, for that matter). The foundation has long bankrolled some of the main opponents of immigration reform. Below is the record of grants to immigration-related recipients.

Ford Foundation Funding of Anti-Immigration-Reform Organizations

(Source: Ford Foundation Annual Reports, 1968-1999)

Year	La Raza [a]	MALDEF [b]	LULAC [c]	NIF [d]	NIP-NLG [e]	Year Total
1968	$630,000	$2,200,000	$0	$0	$0	$2,830,000
1969	$21,595	$0	$0	$0	$0	$21,595
1970	$1,953,700	$0	$0	$0	$0	$1,953,700
1971	$150,000	$0	$0	$0	$0	$150,000
1972	$800,000	$0	$0	$0	$0	$800,000
1973	$485,000	$415,000	$0	$0	$0	$900,000
1974	$425,000	$825,000	$0	$0	$0	$1,250,000
1975	$339,996	$0	$0	$0	$0	$339,996
1976	$271,984	$750,000	$0	$0	$0	$1,021,984
1977	$200,000	$0	$0	$0	$0	$200,000
1978	$300,000	$887,200	$0	$0	$0	$1,187,200
1979	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
1980	$232,500	$742,425	$0	$0	$0	$974,925
1981	$240,000	$391,660	$15,200	$0	$0	$646,860
1982	$375,000	$900,000	$0	$0	$0	$1,275,000
1983	$162,732	$822,350	$0	$152,110	$0	$1,137,192
1984	$500,000	$1,400,000	$0	$142,290	$0	$1,042,290
1985	$0	$1,256,000	$0	$55,600	$15,000	$1,326,600
1986	$25,000	$1,300,000	$0	$84,000	$0	$1,409,000
1987	$110,000	$630,000	$0	$517,030	$0	$1,257,030
1988	$830,000	$1,350,000	$0	$235,000	$0	$2,415,000
1989	$452,000	$295,000	$134,000	$435,000	$48,000	$1,364,000
1990	$262,000	$1,575,000	$145,000	$0	$100,000	$2,082,000
1991	$1,250,000	$792,000	$330,000	$460,000	$50,000	$2,882,000
1992	$109,300	$1,545,000	$0	$175,000	$100,000	$1,929,300
1993	$2,850,000	$850,000	$300,000	$567,900	$100,000	$4,667,900
1994	$0	$1,525,000	$0	$535,000	$0	$2,060,000
1995	$3,535,000	$995,000	$450,000	$130,000	$0	$5,110,000
1996	$757,000	$2,325,000	$0	$800,000	$100,000	$3,800,000
1997	$1,315,000	$1,200,000	$0	$770,000	$0	$3,285,000
1998	$1,950,000	$2,900,000	$0	$500,000	$100,000	$5,450,000
1999	$1,190,000	$0	$0	$0	$0	$1,190,000
Total	**$21,540,807**	**$27,871,635**	**$1,374,200**	**$5,558,930**	**$613,000**	**$56,958,572**

[a] National Council of La Raza
[b] Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund
[c] League of United Latin American Citizens
[d] National Immigration Forum, formerly National Immigration, Refugee and Citizenship Forum
[e] National Immigration Project of the National Lawyers Guild

- This chart originally appeared in the Spring 1994 (Vol.IV, No.3) issue of *The Social Contract*, and has been updated by researcher Joseph Fallon as of May, 2000.

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Tracking Presidential Candidates on Immigration

And other new resources on the web

An Open Letter from Roy Beck

With the summer conventions for the presidential campaign upon us, BetterImmigration.com continues to track the candidates' stances toward immigration. Of course, candidates' positions on issues are fluid; and we expect that their positions may change. We have just updated our Presidential Candidate Grid to reflect recent comments made by candidates. On the internet go to: http://www.betterimmigration.com.

This information contains our best efforts to reflect the true stances and past actions. Click on any candidate for contact information and detailed stances. You will notice, for example, that George W. Bush recently came out against an amnesty for illegal aliens.

Our Presidential Grid may be particularly useful when contacting your candidate and asking him about his position on mass immigration. We already know that some activists have been busy attending town hall meetings and campaign appearances and questioning the candidates about mass immigration.

Impact of Legislative Actions

Thanks to the hard work of Rosemary Jenks at Harvard, we now have at NumbersUSA.com, for the first time in this movement, a comprehensive on-line review of the numerical impact of most major immigration legislation from the past ten years (1990-2000). We're very excited about being able to make this information available to you. Go to: http://www.numbersusa.com/cgi/text.cgi?Legislinks for a list of legislation. Each action provides links to a table detailing the numerical effect of the legislation as well as a link to a summary of each action. These tables may be very useful to you in writing faxes or letters to Congress. We have already been able to use some of this information to fight President Clinton's recent amnesty proposal which was included with his H-1B proposal. Armed with reliable projections for the first time, several Members of Congress have been using our numbers in speeches and media interviews.

Resolutions

Due largely to many of your efforts as concerned citizens, several resolutions calling for U.S. population stabilization and reduced immigration have been endorsed recently by groups or governments from at least five states. Most recently, the Pitkin County (Colorado) City Council passed a resolution calling for U.S. population stabilization, including immigration reductions to no less than 175,000 a year! You can find the text of the resolution at http://www.numbersusa.com/resources/pitkinco.html

For more information on other resolutions that have been endorsed by various groups, go to: http://numbersusa.com/resources/resolutions.html.

Please know that these resolutions have been successful mainly as a result of your hard work and grassroots organizing. We know that there are other groups currently considering similar resolutions and we have you to thank for it! For more information on drafting a resolution or getting a group to endorse a resolution, please e-mail Linda Purdue at linda@numbersusa.com. ■

***Roy Beck**, in addition to being Washington editor of The Social Contract, is president of Americans for Better Immigration and director of the website NumbersUSA.com which offers a way to send faxes to Members of Congress about immigration issues and includes separate immigration voting records and co-sponsorship profiles on every Member of Congress.*

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Theater of the Absurd

An academic conference on immigration reveals a bias toward Third World additions

Reportage by Joseph Fallon

The Massachusetts Historical Society, a prestigious organization founded in 1791, hosted an academic conference (May 18-20) entitled "Immigrant Massachusetts: 1840-2000." Among the schools represented at this event were: Boston College, Boston University, Brandeis, Brown, Harvard, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Northeastern, Notre Dame, Tufts, University of Connecticut, University of Massachusetts, University of Pittsburgh, University of Texas, and Wellesley. The speakers included Jonathan Chu, Howard Chudacoff, Michael Dukakis, Lawrence Fuchs, Nathan Glazer, Michael Jones-Correa, Thomas O'Connor, and Reed Ueda.

Fourteen papers were presented. They were critiqued by fellow academics and then commented on by the audience during "questions and answers." Some sessions — such as "Strike" which dealt with the 1912 strike by unskilled, immigrant mill workers, mostly Italians and East Europeans, in Lawrence, Massachusetts; and "Transplanting Faiths" which focused on religious identity and religious conversion among immigrants between 1890-1940 — did limit themselves to historical events in Massachusetts.

However, in the opening lecture on Thursday evening by Professor Thomas O'Connor, professor emeritus at Boston College, and in the Friday sessions on "Coming to Massachusetts" and "Becoming American or Creating Communities," the focus, directly or indirectly, was on *current* immigration. These papers and the subsequent discussions revealed an aggressive pro-Third World immigration bias on the part of the speakers and the audience. Variations on the myth that the United States is "a nation of immigrants" and "a proposition country," coupled with an endless repetition of the mantra "inclusion, openness, and pluralism" replaced any examination of the facts.

The issue of immigration driving U.S. population growth to half a billion or more in the next fifty years, and the social, financial — and especially the environmental — impact of such growth, were completely ignored by everyone on both sides of the podium. While writers favoring current immigration, such as Noel Ignatiev, were cited with approval, writers on immigration reform, such as Peter Brimelow, George Borjas and Lawrence Auster were not mentioned. Numerous opinion polls showing most Americans want immigration reduced were completely ignored.

In his opening lecture, Professor O'Connor raised the question of whether today's immigrants should even assimilate anymore, whether assimilation was, in fact, "coercion" by the dominant society. He suggested "becoming" American, as historically understood, imposed a "penalty" on immigrants. They had been "forced" to lose their language, religion, and culture. The professor later went on to express how Boston was enriched by the cultural celebrations of Irish and Italians without explaining the contradiction. How can descendants of immigrants who have "lost" their culture be able to celebrate that culture?

Professor O'Connor's lecture introduced what was to become one of the common themes in the papers and discussions, particularly those on Friday, namely: any shortcoming of today's immigrants is the fault of the dominant society of the United States.

Five speakers stand out — Professors Cintron, Chu, Ueda, Dukakis, and Fuchs. Friday morning's theme was "Coming to Massachusetts." In her paper

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"Jobs and Opportunity among Recent Hispanic Immigrants in Lowell," Professor Aixa Cintron of Massachusetts Institute of Technology took this allegation about responsibility to the extreme. While admitting many Hispanic immigrants are unskilled, she maintained the fault for their condition is with the United States because it has a "skill-biased" economy. Notice she did not say a "skill-based" economy, but a "skill-biased" economy. The implication was that the U.S. should not only import a Third World population, but a Third World economy to go with it.

The purpose of Cintron's paper was to present oral histories testifying to the economic oppression suffered by Puerto Rican and Dominican immigrants who had migrated from New York City or Boston to Lowell, Massachusetts. But in describing this economic oppression, which consisted of what she said was the lack of an economic "safety net" for unskilled Hispanic immigrants, the professor neglected to mention federal and state welfare programs or the high welfare dependency rate of Hispanics.

It was later revealed during a question from the audience that for her "study" Professor Cintron had interviewed, principally if not exclusively, Hispanic immigrants in homeless shelters and at substance abuse clinics.

The section of the conference on "Becoming American or Creating Communities" was held in the afternoon and was moderated by former Massachusetts Governor, and 1988 Democratic presidential candidate, Michael Dukakis, now a professor at Northeastern University. In this session Professor Jonathan Chu presented his paper on "George Frisbie Hoar: Chinese Exclusion and the Political Reconstruction of Race." While ostensibly a historical examination into the failed attempt by U.S. Senator Hoar to defeat the Chinese Exclusion Act, the paper served as a vehicle for Professor Chu to attack pre-1965 U.S. immigration policies.

In "Citizenship, Civic Identity, and Civic Tradition" Professor Reed Ueda examined the changes in Massachusetts politics over the century which transformed the state from a leader of immigration restriction to a leader of open immigration. Like Professor Chu, Professor Ueda used his paper to attack pre-1965 immigration policies as "racist" and "exclusionist."

As moderator, Professor Dukakis claimed the change from an "anti-immigrant" Congress in 1985 to an immigrant-friendly Congress in 1997 was due to politicians recognizing the growing size and political power of the Hispanic population. This, he declared, proved the American political system was self-correcting.

The former governor ignored the extensive cases of illegal naturalization and voter fraud, the most infamous being President Clinton's 1996 "Citizenship USA" under which thousands of aliens were illegally naturalized. He similarly ignored how special interest money is used to lobby (some might say, "bribe") both Republicans and Democrats to enact legislation to grant additional amnesties, lower the standards for naturalization, increase H-1B visas for foreign computer programmers, and increase the number of agricultural "guest" workers.

Then there was the great misrepresentation. Professors Chu, Ueda, and Dukakis always referred to current immigration policy as the result of post-World War II legislation. The 1965 Immigration Act was never mentioned, which meant they did not have to address the broken promises of its sponsors who had assured the public this law would not increase annual immigration levels, would not redirect immigration away from Europe, and would not lower admission standards.

Professor O'Connor's opening lecture best projected the tenor of the conference. He recounted the Census Bureau projections that the European-American majority population will be reduced to a demographic minority after 2050. This anti-democratic transformation can be described as a demographic coup d'etat. But Professor O'Connor only referred to it as a demographic change — a change, he asserted, that will have a tremendous impact on "the study of immigration." To the professor, the impact is not on the United States, not on the European American majority population, not on the continued viability of democratic government, not on the continuation of Western Civilization upon which this country was founded — but on "the study" of immigration. ■

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Iceland to India

A traveler's trek from homogeneity to diversity

by Denis McCormack

The letter "I" has no place among N, S, E, or W on the compass, apart from its presence in the form of a needle pointing to opposites. A brief study tour undertaken on my way back to Australia from last autumn's Social Contract Writers' Workshop in Washington, D.C., took me through the threshold of opposites to contrast Iceland with India. Some months of determined procrastination on my part have fortuitously led to the inclusion herein of recent events relating to India and Indians which have unfolded since my return home in mid-November, 1999.

On our front cover is a photograph of India's symbolic 'one billionth' child, born in a nation of diversity, conflict and poverty. Australian writer McCormack contrasts the social settings of India and Iceland.

In March of this year, Australia's Immigration (and Aboriginal Reconciliation) Minister Phillip Ruddock was on the end of some particularly partisan and uninformed criticism from Geneva-based U.N. Race Relations Thought Police. In his solid, polite rebuttal to these ignorant U.N. folk, intent on rushing into Australian domestic concerns where better-briefed angels would fear to tread, Ruddock mentioned the time he met the late Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, who had asked him how long he intended staying in India. Nine days, he replied, which Gandhi seemed to welcome, as she told him "Most people come for two and think they can write a book."[1] It is with India Gandhi's implied and valid caution to quick-trip book writers in mind that I dare to pen these few thoughts — and do happily swear never to expand them into a book.

A week in Iceland was a pleasurable tonic. Save for a very few monks and hermits from elsewhere, it was not peopled until Norsemen settled there in the late ninth century, bringing with them the then lingua franca of Scandinavia which is today recognized as Icelandic, the ancestor of all modern Scandinavian languages. They pioneered a form of democratic legislative assembly, the Althingi, in 930 AD, where settlement leaders from across Iceland (or Island as they appropriately spell it) would meet together in the open air, jamboree style, on the shores of a picturesque lake and where, ironically, modern Earth Sciences have identified the North American and European lithospheric or tectonic plates as meeting — hence the abundance of clean, cheap geothermal energy and the occasional volcanic problems. That Leif Ericsson "son of Iceland" first discovered 'Vinland', otherwise known as North America today, is well known in Iceland, if not elsewhere.

Today's Iceland is a small (little over 100,00 sq. km), homogeneous, scenic, prosperous, well-governed island nation in the North Atlantic where geographic constraints to growth have naturally sheltered the population (270,000 approximately) from the immigration/multicultural/multiracial problems which have been demographically building around Western civilization and elsewhere since the 1960s. Iceland runs no immigration program. From 1996 to 1999, they had accepted a total of 147 refugees, all from the Balkans — 70 Serbs, 77 Kosovars. They have for many years imported guest-working seasonal labor for the fish processing industry which is the country's most important economic earner. In years gone by, many young British, and some Australians among others, gained an admiration for Iceland as well as good wages while working these seasonal jobs. In more recent years, Poles and other Eastern Europeans

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have been predominant. Rumor has it that the Brits and Aussies were a much better cultural-ethnic fit than Eastern Europeans have proved to be so far.

Having visited continental Scandinavia back in the mid-1970s, I felt even more at home and relaxed in Iceland's capital, Reykjavik, where about half the total population lives. One hundred yards down the street from my lodgings stood Kormâks and Skjaldor Men's Tailors and Clothing Store bearing witness to my own ancient Irish ancestors minor genetic contribution to the ongoing saga of this thousand-year-old civilizational jewel that is Iceland. No doubt they have their share of human and social frailties. They are not untouched by the array of unhealthy socio-cultural trends in evidence elsewhere not only in the west, but around the globe in the modern era. But what an uplifting experience it was to find in this people a general happiness and pride in their own history, language, literature, folkways and general culture. They have a profound sense of who they are.

"Diversity" is not a big issue in Iceland. There is no minority-driven guilt industry, immigration industry, multicultural industry, affirmative action, and quota or employment set-asides, which come with increasing diversity anywhere. India now has OBC ("Other Backward Castes") employment set-asides designed to overcome traditional cultural barriers. Regardless of the best intentions, OBC set-asides are becoming another source of grievance in the hearts of millions. Icelandic society is not overshadowed by the many and complex shades of diversity-driven anxiety and social divisiveness omnipresent throughout the West and elsewhere today. Icelanders are a polite, well-traveled and well-informed lot. There is no shortage of daily news/information flow covering all, including both the minutiae and the magnitude of ethnic, racial, and religious clashes from around the globe. Hence they are aware of mounting global unease from distant Japan to nearby Scandinavia and Britain in relation to immigration-induced multiculturalism and multiracialism. Icelanders today therefore view their island nation's geographic constraints as more of a blessing than did their ancestors. Academics and others I spoke to did not foresee any socio-political circumstances which could lead to change in their national demographic/racial profile, nor, I gathered, would such change be welcome. I deposited with the National Library in Reykjavik a copy of "*Immigration and the Social Contract: The Implosion of Western Societies,*" (Avebury 1996).

There is a socially conservative level-headedness about life in Iceland. It is a calmness, bordering on the boring, as some of Iceland's own social critics would affectionately term it, that with each generation bestows a continued inclusive benevolence of stability and a level of community contentment unknown and unimaginable by billions of people elsewhere in the world. As an Australian from another far-flung island nation state of breath-taking natural beauty, with relative tranquility and prosperity, founded and built by Europeans (whose demographic predominance is presently declining), I understand why Icelanders are always happy to return to their clean, quiet, safe and uncluttered northern roost after a trip nearly anywhere else. Many I spoke to viewed the rest of the world as exciting, but dauntingly crowded, complex, corrupt, chaotic, dangerous, dirty and environmentally degraded.

And then to India

Though India is only a long day on a plane away from Iceland, it did seem like landing on another planet. Having studied and worked for two years in the Peoples Republic of China during the early 1980s, and traveled more widely and freely there than most were allowed at that time, I thought I'd had ample scope to observe what overpopulation and destitution meant. Out of 1.2 billion in all, 200 million Chinese are living in "total poverty."[2] China, however, did not prepare me for India, which has just reached the 1 billion mark and is due to exceed China's population in about 40 years' time.

Three weeks by bus, train, plane, rickshaw and foot through Mumbai (Bombay), Varanasi (Benares), New Delhi, Agra, and Jaipur, finishing with four days in Calcutta, was long enough to glimpse the famed decaying majesty of past eras still standing amid the swirling, churning hundreds of millions of mostly poor people. There is an educated, modestly well-off middle class of about 200 million (including a few million very wealthy), 500 million just getting by and 300 million in dire poverty. India has the world's

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fourth largest economy. On the back of the computer industry, places like Hyderabad reinvent themselves as "Cyberabad." Megabucks are being made by computer service companies with teams of low-wage Indian software engineers and data processors who perform contract work for scores of Fortune 500 companies, U.S. government departments, and perhaps for your local medical clinic's billing operations! So, not only will the current proposals to double H-lB visas for skilled I.T. workers lead to more Indian immigrants taking jobs in Silicon Valley, but more jobs can be double-clicked out of the country by U.S. employers to low wage destinations like Hyderabad. Welcome to www.globalization. Oh no!

"[In the English-language press] there is also very frank reportage of the great complicating factor which too often retards these endeavors, i.e. the sheer burden and breadth of diversity both locally and nationally."

Some successful economic reform in the early 1990s after decades of stagnation has contributed to India's enhanced perception of itself as an up-and-coming super cyber nuclear space-racing power with confidence. In a budget speech earlier this year, Indian Finance Minister Yashwant Sinha predicted an end to poverty in his country within a decade. This is a truly tall order for a country wherein the absolute numbers of people in poverty are admitted to be still growing, where today 300 million eat less than one adequate meal a day, and half the population is functionally illiterate. The courts are backlogged with 30 million cases and corruption at all levels of government is frankly admitted.[3] Add to the aforementioned a chronic housing shortage, expanding urban slums, problems of water shortage and quality, daily outages of electricity (for those who have access to it), woeful sewage inadequacies, grinding rural poverty, urban pollution and congestion of nightmarish proportions and you have a picture of why Professor Amitabh Kundu of the Center for the Study of Regional Development at Jawaharlal Nehru University says of so many millions that "... people are really living like animals."[4]

After 200 years of British administration, which ended in 1947, it is no surprise to find English language dailies throughout India. Predictably, the papers reveal the everyday local and national endeavors to organize and fund physical and bureaucratic infrastructure in order to feed, water, sewer, educate and usefully employ such a massive and growing population within a democratic framework. But there is also very frank reportage of the great complicating factor which too often retards these endeavors, i.e. the sheer burden and breadth of diversity both locally and nationally. There are 15 official languages in India, along with scores of others. Everyday life has long been wracked by interethnic, religious, caste, and gender violence, not every day everywhere, but every day the newspapers recount a tragic tale of communal strife from somewhere in India. Mahatma Gandhi's grandson, Rajmohan Gandhi, is a distinguished historian and biographer. His latest book, *Revenge and Reconciliation: Understanding South Asian History*, came out in November while I was in India. "It is a study of the revenge impulse in South Asia ... He confronts the history and contemporaneity of intolerance and vengefulness in South Asia. It is his search for the historical roots of violence, starting from the classic text of the Mahabharata's conflict and revenge through to numerous questions relating to caste feuds, Hindu-Muslim relationships, etc."[5]

Pankaj Mishra is another Indian author who has recently written that "rural and semi-urban India is now full of disenfranchised restive people," and has identified their "free-floating rage" as the most sinister feature of contemporary India. At a recent reading in Melbourne of his novel *The Romantics*, some aspects of which portray a rather bleak view of modernizing India, and after lodgment of the usual flak-deflecting PC caveats (the evening was sponsored by Melbourne University's dogmatically pro-multicultural "Asialink" think-tank propaganda unit), he did at question time frankly acknowledge both diversity and population pressure as contributing factors to what he

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termed "the grueling realities of life in India."[6] And it's not as if ordinary Indians don't recognize the inherent problems naturally ensuing from excessive diversity. Nobody I spoke to anywhere in India, from any occupation or walk of life, of any ethnic, religious or caste background, wanted more diversity.

Suffice it to say that the specter of Christianity's influence, increasing due to years of well-funded missionary activity which culminated in the Pope's visit to India in November 1999, is viewed by many with foreboding. It produced in the media some blunt commentary about what these developments may mean for intercommunal harmony and for politics in a country where government is dominated by the Hindu nationalists. India is still struggling with the historical legacy of the foreign Moghul (Muslim) Empire which ruled India from the early 16th century and from whom the Brits finally took over administration in 1857. In many countries, after census time — when the national statistical ingredients on race, ethnicity and religion are rebaked into fresh pie charts by demographers — the politicians, bureaucrats and social science practitioners always ponder with apprehension not only the consequences of changed proportions of the major slices to each other, but they also ponder the future potential impact of previously insignificant but recently expanding minority slices. One of the differences between our governments and India's is that they expend effort and lives dousing the flames of extant diversity, while ours continue to import more diversity through unpopularly large and ethnically inappropriate immigration which is raising our social combustibility and testing our "tolerance."

On the sub-continent, tolerance is what prevails between tumults. It is a compromised reality under which an ever-present range of actual and potentially antagonistic forces slumber, with everyone knowing that any group striving for an ideal outcome on any issue of mutual concern may well spark havoc among them all. Tolerance, it seems, is a mandatory life sentence for all who live under diversity's expanding jurisdiction.

Our nightly TV world news has for decades been delivering to us the bad news on diverse societies. In recent times, academia has begun to investigate and quantify the downside of diversity for good governance.[7] Why is it then that Western governments and elites are still chanting the "diversity is wonderful" mantra, when the nightly news so repeatedly proves that it just ain't so? Part of the answer is cognitive dissonance in the minds of Western elites.

A clear example of this came to light during President Clinton's visit to India in March of this year.

"One of the differences between our [Western] governments and India's is that they expend effort and lives dousing the flames of extant diversity, while ours continue to import more diversity through unpopularly large and ethnically inappropriate immigration..."

His address to a joint sitting of India's parliament was briefly reported on ABC Radio in Australia, wherein he at once expressed his sorrow and dismay about the massacre (widely thought to have been prompted by his visit) in the Pakistani/Indian-disputed territory of Kashmir, and then went on to comment favorably about India's cultural diversity. The Kashmir border problem goes back to Partition in 1947 when the sub-continent gained independence from Britain. It was partitioned along none-too-clear ethno-religious lines into India (majority Hindu) and Pakistan both East and West (majority Muslim) which triggered the biggest transmigration of modern times.[8] Millions of Muslims moved both east and west to the Pakistans, and likewise Hindus and others to India in between. The death and destruction was horrendous.[9] East Pakistan split from West Pakistan and became Bangladesh, an event which brought millions more refugees to already overcrowded Calcutta[10] where "the Left Front Government, which has been in power since 1977, still draws major support from the refugee community."[11]

Calcutta is the capital of India's West Bengal

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State and only a short distance east is the border with Bangladesh where "Operation Push Back" has been mounted by the Indian Border Security Force in an effort to control illegal immigration. Muslims are rounded up and evicted, their heads shaved and their transistor radios and other property taken from them as a lesson to others. A wire fence has been put up at the main points of entry along the 2000-kilometer border to stem the tide, and also to control smuggling. The issuance of identity cards to West Bengalis as a further control has been under consideration.[12]

"Bangladesh consists of 125 million very poor people living on a vast delta, waiting for the next flood followed by famine."

Bangladesh consists of 125 million very poor people living on a vast delta, waiting for the next flood followed by famine. That Calcutta has been their destination of desperation speaks volumes for the future of both places. How strange then to read in *The Times* of India on the day of my departure (15 November, 1999) from India for Melbourne,

> *Free migration of labor must be allowed, says Jethmalani, India's Minister for Law and Justice at a judicial symposium on refugee protection: The rich nations should change laws of migration ... He stressed the need for creating conditions conducive for the protection of refugees so that they could "lead a more dignified life in the country where they sought asylum"...*
>
> *As a refugee, I myself had experienced the trauma and agony faced by refugees first during India's partition and a second time when I sought political asylum while trying to flee persecution during the Emergency in 1975 ..." "In this era of liberalization and global village, there should not only be free movement of capitalists(sic) but also free migration of labor...*

The article goes on to say that Six South Asian countries had seen a large influx of population, none of them had signed the International Convention on Refugee Protection [1951] and the problem was dealt with on an ad hoc basis. Needless to say, Mr. Jethmalani's high-minded rhetoric was delivered at a United Nations-High Commissioner for Refugees co-hosted conference.

In the *Guardian Weekly* of February 10-16 this year, in an article titled "Global Warning," George Monbiot cuts straight to the chase:

> *The effects of global warming are cruelly ironic: the impact of fossil-fuel consumption will be most severe in regions where the least fuel has been consumed. Sub-Saharan Africa is becoming drier: in East Africa droughts of the kind that used to strike every 40 years are arriving every four or five. On the Indian subcontinent, the great centers of population and food production, the valleys of the Ganges, the Brahmaputra and the Indus are all fed by Himalayan glaciers. These are retreating so fast that the rivers may dry up by 2040. The results will be catastrophic. Bangladesh will be hit twice as the people of the river deltas are driven off their land by rising sea levels. Environmental refugees already outnumber those displaced by conflict. Last month, Sojeeda Choudhury, the Bangladeshi environment minister, told the BBC that climate change would leave her country with 20 million environmental refugees. Rich nations would have to "rethink their immigration policies." The distinction between political and economic refugees has always been an artificial one: poor regions of the world remain so as a result of the policies of the rich. But in this case, the West's moral responsibility is incontestable: every time someone in the West turns on a kettle, he or she is helping to flood Bangladesh. Global warming requires an ethical framework that classifies hitherto innocent actions as deadly. There is nowhere else for the displaced people of Bangladesh or sub-Saharan Africa to go ... If the West doesn't let them in, they will die, and Westerners, the consumers of fossil*

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fuels will be responsible.[13] *If global warming is not contained, the West will face a choice of a refugee crisis of unimaginable proportions, or direct complicity in crimes against humanity. The alternative is to reduce carbon consump-tion by 90 percent over the next ten years.*

The article finishes by outlining some "radical" measures needed for this reduction to be achieved. This is but the latest restatement of such a future scenario. In my view, the outline has already started in terms of future environmental crises and possible displacement of tens to hundreds of millions, but it is the placement of guilt[14] — "the white man's burden," and the fanciful notion that such massive numbers could be somehow relocated in the "rich" countries of "the West" without "the West" environmentally, culturally and racially wiping itself off the face of the earth *a la* "The Camp of the Saints." The proposition of collective Western (read white) guilt and responsibility for most if not all of the world's problems, as put by George Monboit and his ilk, goes something like this: since it was a few British foundry forging folk in Ironbridge (Telford, UK) who in 1709 started stoking their iron with coke and thereby accelerating the Industrial Revolution, which led to rapid technological advances in all fields of human endeavor covering improved agriculture, public health, transport, and communications, which led to population growth, global exploration, establishment of empires, expansion of trade, colonialism, more population growth, resource exploitation, which led to all races taking to as much of the above to the best (and worst) of their abilities and circumstances, which led to global capitalism, marxism, revolutions, wars and consumerism, all of which have over centuries cumulatively contributed to climate change and the future dry-up of the Ganges, etc, thus his reasoning goes, we Westerners alive today are collectively responsible for the world's woes and are morally obliged, at any cost to our own future survival, to save everyone everywhere from any life-threatening circumstances which are in any way connected (as they inevitably are) with any of the above complex of intertwining historical processes which, of course, were under the exclusive control of no one peoples' administration at any time.

"On apportioning guilt for climate change: don't. There is no answer, but start with the Sumerians anyway..."

Perhaps Monboit et al should be pointing their accusatory fingers of guilt at Saddam Hussein's Iraqi people, for as far as we know the ancient Sumerians of Mesopotamia were the progenitors of civilization (while sitting atop all that fossil fuel), and no doubt had an early formative influence on what later became Judaism, which begat Christianity and Islam, all of which have begat too much triumph and trauma in the rest of the world to reiterate here. However, could Iraq handle, as penance for its past, a few million refugees from Bangladesh, or is diversity in the Middle Eastern property market a little over-heated already?

What is to be learned? Where is the path forward? On race, ethnicity and religion, the verdicts of world history and global current affairs coincide: the more diverse the nation state, the harder it is to govern. On apportioning guilt for climate change: don't. There is no answer, but start with the Sumerians anyway, and do what you can to tread more lightly on the environment. On future mass movements of environmental refugees: pray that it doesn't happen, but start stiffening backbones and borders by openly talking about such future possibilities and treat your federal representative to a fact-finding tour in Calcutta.

P.S.: As I write, a coup is unfolding in Fiji. The previous one in 1987 was about the same issue, i.e. indigenous Fijians (51 percent) wish to maintain political dominance of their South Pacific archipelago against Indian Fijians (44 percent) whose ancestors were imported a hundred years ago by the British to work sugar cane plantations. The rest of the story you can guess. The first elected Indian Fijian prime minister has been ousted after one year in office. Indian Fijians have been coming into Australia since the first coup. Now thousands more are thinking of

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doing the same thing, and I can't help wishing they'd prefer to go back to India. ■

NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] "Ruddock and Australia in the Dock" and "Cabinet Rebuff for Partisan U.N. Bodies" by Simon Mann and Tony Wright, *The Age*, Melbourne, 25 March 2000.

[2] "200 Million Chinese Live in Total Poverty" by John Shauble, *The Age*, Melbourne, 24 March 2000.

[3] According to a U.N.-funded Human Development Report on South Asia in early November, 1999,

> *While corruption in rich rapidly growing countries may be tolerable, though reprehensible, in poverty stricken South Asia, it is political dynamite when the majority of the population cannot meet their basic needs... Thus corruption in South Asia does not lead to simply cabinet portfolio shifts or newspaper headlines, but to massive human deprivation... The report covers India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Nepal ... The 208-page report focused on corruption as one of the most damaging consequences of poor governance ... South Asia is facing a crisis of governance which, if unchecked, could halt the region's democratic progress and economic and social well-being of its teeming millions ... The signs of crisis are everywhere ... All of the nations face the pernicious evils — endemic corruption, social exclusion, inefficient civil services ... Evidence of corruption is widespread: in reduced availability and increased cost of basic social services, in allocation of resources for mega projects, and in the breakdown of rule of law ... Combating corruption in the region is not just about punishing corrupt politicians and bureaucrats but about saving lives ... Corrupt money has wings not wheels and is smuggled abroad to safe havens... Corruption often leads to promotion not prison.*

According to a report in Melbourne *Herald Sun*, 24 September, 1998, Berlin-based Transparency International surveyed 85 countries on a "corruption perception index." From best to worst, Denmark ranked top with Finland 2, Sweden 3, Iceland 5, Norway 8, Australia 11, USA equal 17th, India 66, Pakistan 71, Vietnam 74, and Nigeria 81. The biggest regulator in the biggest financial market is Arthur Levitt, head of the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission. Since 1998, Levitt has repeatedly warned of trickery and illusion, nods and winks, and wishful thinking all now being practiced by "the Big Five" global accounting firms in their financial reporting. He said recently, "I am worried, however, that a gradual but perceptible erosion in the quality of this reporting may be undermining the systemic integrity of our market place ... overriding long-established precepts of financial reporting and of ethical restraint ... threatening investor confidence and potentially weakening America's brand in the global arena" because the Big Five are getting distracted from their traditional work of accounting and auditing by the much more lucrative world of management consulting for the firms they audit. Levitt is ever so politely talking about developing corruption of "international best practice" accounting. Looking at the latest stats on obesity around the developed world, however, it seems clear that corruption in our financial system does not have the direct impact on our citizens as that of the sub-continent reported above.

[4] "India Rises for Richer and Poorer" by Christopher Kremmer, *The Age*, Melbourne, 25 March 2000.

[5] Book reviews in *Calcutta Telegraph* 12 November, 1999, *The Asian Age,* 14 November 1999.

[6] "On the Road to Benares" by Helen Anderson, *Weekend Australian Book Review* 13-14 May 2000. Also personal communication with Mishra at his book-reading in Melbourne 25 May 2000. I have purposely not outlined daily privations of the poor in India, "the grueling realities of life in India" as Mishra terms them, but there are no better treatments of these than told by LaPierre and Thomas in their books cited at 10 and 11 hereunder.

[7] See "Putting the Good in Good Government" by Richard Morin, *Washington Post,* 1 November 1998, which cites researchers at Harvard and University of Chicago from a paper they prepared for the National Bureau of Economic Research on the downside of diversity for good governance" ... ethno-linguistically heterogeneous countries (those with lots of ethnic groups) don't seem to be as well governed as those with much less diversity. That's because competing ethnic groups too often waste their energy and squander their country's resources trying to dominate and sometimes exterminate their rivals." Also see Alesina, Baquir, and Easterly 1999 "*Public Goods and Ethnic Divisions*" Quarterly Journal of Economics 114 (November) pages 1243 to 1284.

[8] Partition was really Samuel Huntington's *Clash of Civilizations* writ large and early (reviewed *The Social Contract*, Vol. VII, No. 2, Winter 96/97) in which Huntington actually mentioned Raspail's *The Camp of the Saints* and cited *The Social Contract*.

[9] See *Freedom at Midnight* by Collins and Lapierre, Simon & Schuster 1975.

[10] See *City of Joy* by Dominique Lapierre, Doubleday, 1988, for a sympathetic and excruciatingly vivid and detailed look at street and slum life in Calcutta. It should be read as a prelude to Raspail's *The Camp of the Saints*, to which an edition of TSC (Vol. V, No. 2) was devoted.

[11] See *Calcutta: The Human Face of Poverty*, p.42 by Frederic C. Thomas, Penguin India, 1999. Thomas is a research scholar at the Center for South Asian Studies, University of California,

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Berkeley. His book is up to date and concise at 189 pages, but packed with historical detail and sociological research from many Indians who tell it like it is, linking Calcutta's sorry condition to successive overwhelming waves of refugees from rural poverty in India as well as from Bangladesh since partition.

[12] Ibid. p.143.

[13]I would argue diminished responsibility here on the following grounds: It is not as if the environmental lobby or the scientific research community have been sitting on their hands ignoring this issue for the last 30 years. There are many strategies and environmentally friendly energy schemes that could theoretically be in play today but for the way global finance is structured and but for the influence of powerful multinational cartels who profit handsomely from the status quo and who can lean ever more heavily on national administrations in the age of globalization and shrinking government. Ditto for Mr. and Mrs. Sixpack, who may well be already convinced that it is in the world's and their best interests to modify lifestyle and consumption patterns in order to ameliorate climate change; however, their capacity to influence such lofty international affairs is negligible, and they'll want to be assured that they and theirs will not be wiped out by millions of hungry refugees should international scheduling of solutions go a little out of whack with what is humanly possible. Democracy can become fragile when survival is at stake.

[14] South African political commentator and author Ivor Benson in "*The New Scramble for Africa*" (1966) had the following to say on the issue of guilt when comparing colonizing peoples in Africa:

> *They are not afflicted (the Portuguese), like so many people in the English-speaking world, with what de Quincy, the essayist, identified as a streak of Anglo-Saxon morbidity. Others have called it "the Anglo-Saxon neurosis." It could more accurately be described, perhaps, as an incipient schizophrenia, the main symptom of it being confused susceptibility to moral misgivings and self-accusation, an easily aroused feeling of guilt. Soften up the Anglo-Saxon with a few sob stories, persuade him that he is not being quite fair, that he is not being a little gentleman, and he is ready to have his throat cut. His richest virtues as a social animal, his feeling of care and consideration for others, his tolerance, his ethical flair— all these are turned against his breast and made into the means of his undoing. It is this morbid streak in the Anglo-Saxons and other peoples of Northwestern Europe which has become the Achilles' heel of their defense system and which has made propaganda by far the most deadly weapon that can be used against them.*

The Camp of the Saints
by Jean Raspail
Social Contract Press, 1994

In 1973, France saw the original publication of *The Camp of the Saints*, a novel about the perils of third-world overpopulation taking over the wealthy first-world nations. It was translated into several languages, including English, in 1975. One hundred rusty, dilapidated boats leave India crammed with starving would-be immigrants. Indians, like so many other third-world citizens, are desperate and bitter about their lives. The first worlders know the boats are en route to France, yet they make little effort to prevent the ships from landing. The French citizens feel guilty for having so many material goods and empathize with the miserable, starving masses.

The liberal press, churches and students have helped instill a sense of guilt. The people don't have the will to defend and preserve their culture. Many French try to flee to Switzerland. Leaders of first-world countries watch the progress of the rickety boats and cannot muster the political will to prevent invasions. The new politically correct statement is "We are all from the Ganges now." The success of the Indian boats encourages millions of Third Worlders to take over other Western nations. The reader is given a glimpse of what happens in New York City.

Though the author considered his work a parable, it seems to be a prophecy. Population is increasing, the rusty freighters are arriving and we do not have the political will to control our borders.

The mainstream liberal press condemned Jean Raspail's book as racist, a tirade and preposterous, but such remarks only appeared to increase sales figures. The *Atlantic Monthly* called it "one of the most disturbing novels of the late twentieth century" in a December 1994 review. The Social Contract Press reprinted the book in 1994, and used on its cover a photo of the *Golden Venture* passengers gathered on the beach in Queens, New York, in 1993. The author has written 19 other books including *Seven Horsemen.*

The Camp of the Saints can be ordered from the Social Contract Press at 1-800-352-4843.

— Book Review by Carol Joyal

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Ducking the Issue

Candidates fail to talk about immigration

by Charley Reese

Den Xiaoping was discussing trade matters with President Jimmy Carter. Carter said he was sorry but that U.S. law prevented the granting of most-favored-nation status to any country that did not allow free emigration.

"Why, that's no problem at all," the Chinese leader replied. "How many Chinese would you like, Mr. President? Ten million? Twenty million? Thirty million?"

Whether this is a true story, I don't know, but it certainly illustrates the problem industrialized countries have in regard to population growth. The population expansion is, perfectly in keeping with nature's method, far from uniform.

Consequently many countries such as China and India have millions of people to spare, and the industrialized countries, where population is stable or dropping, can expect waves of immigrants legal or otherwise.

The United States at present admits about 1 million legal immigrants and probably a quarter of a million illegals every year. If this rate keeps up, U.S. population will be about 400 million within 50 years. With that many folks, you can forget about environmental concerns, curing traffic jams or stopping urban sprawl. It will be a country not recognizable by people living today.

Congress, of course, ought to pass the Mass Immigration Reduction Act. The current legal levels of immigration are about three times higher than our historical level. This bill would reduce the current level from 1 million to about 270,000 per year. It is a quite sensible bill, but it will face massive opposition.

Congress, of course, ought to defeat any bills to grant amnesty to illegal aliens already here. The problem is that once they are given legal status, then they jump to the head of the line and are eligible to bring their families in.

Personally, I like most immigrants better than a lot of native-borns I could mention. Immigrants at least still appreciate the American experience. They are much more interesting to talk to than people who are fascinated by television quiz shows or who fathered the latest illegitimate child of some entertainer.

My objection to the current high level of immigration is strictly based on numbers, not on the people. Nevertheless, one should not forget that what makes a country is the people who live there, not its history or its geography. With continued mass immigration, it is unlikely America can retain its unique identity, which, whether people like it or not, is firmly grounded in the Anglo-Saxon history and European culture.

There are some basics in human experience, and one is that a nation must control its borders; otherwise it will not survive. We are a nation today because the people already living in North America could not control their borders. Our ancestors simply muscled the Native Americans out of the way.

Well, there are plenty of people alive today who are perfectly willing to muscle us out of the way. They are no different from our own ancestors. They are looking for a better life, for places where they can make their dreams come true. And, like our ancestors, they're a pretty tough bunch, willing to do the 12-hour day and the seven-day week if that's what it takes.

There is plenty of room for disagreement on immigration, but what Americans ought not to tolerate is avoiding the issue, which is what both major political parties are attempting to do.

Nor should Americans pay any attention to big business on this issue. It wants cheap labor, and it doesn't care about the social costs. The working men and women with their taxes will have to pay those.

We don't need poor immigrants to drive down service-job wages. ■

***Charley Reese** is a syndicated columnist.* *© 2000, this article is reprinted with permission from King Features Syndicate.*

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Another Issue BushGore Won't Talk About

by Scott McConnell

Don't count on hearing anything from BushGore about the ongoing invasion of the United States by illegal aliens from Mexico and other points south.

Bush has made it clear that his "friendship" with Mexico's leadership counts for more than the Americans whose property is being trashed by illegal alien smugglers: "Family values don't stop at the Rio Grande" has been his one contribution to this subject. And the Gore campaign is entirely in synch with the left Latino activist groups, who are, of course, pro-illegal immigration.

Pat Buchanan has demonstrated several times his solidarity with the folks on the Arizona border, a fact not mentioned in accounts of the pressure the illegal alien flow is putting on Arizona ranchers. At campaign stops around the nation, he tells the story of Theresa Murray, an elderly American made a virtual prisoner in her own home by the illegals.

Years ago, Cesar Chavez, the late Mexican-American labor union leader, made clear that the concrete economic interests of his membership were damaged by the ceaseless flow of cheap labor from across the border.

This is a point Pat Buchanan has made again and again during this campaign, the uncontrolled flow of illegal aliens pushes down the wages of all Americans. But BushGore are well funded by the people who benefit from cheap labor; they say nothing about the border but "keep it open" and "look the other way." The only borders they care about are the ones in the Balkans, where they support full American military intervention. We think differently.

[***Scott McConnell** is a former editorial-page writer for the* New York Post, *now a contributor to the e-magazine* www.vdare.com.]

Defending Against the Wrong Army

by Paul Craig Roberts

Ten years after the end of the Cold War, the United States still spends a large sum on national defense. Arguments are made that we need to spend more. But spending may not be the answer if the purposes of defense are being undercut by other policies.

For example, our defense with respect to China has been undercut by a U.S. defense contractor transferring our missile technology to the Chinese in order for U.S. firms to obtain cheaper and more reliable launchings for their communication satellites. What good does it do to spend more billions on defense when our own defense contractors, with a wink and nod from President Clinton, transfer the technology and weapons systems that we develop to the Chinese?

Take another example. U.S. businesses are hell-bent on building up China's economy in order that they might profit from the development of the Chinese market. But this build-up will make it easy for China to

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outspend us militarily and prevent us from closing our markets once they are able to out-compete us.

But these concerns, as real as they are, are minor. To see the big problem, consider the purposes of national defense. Countries have armies in order to prevent their being overrun by foreigners who would displace their language, destroy their cultural and communal integrity, and economically exploit the overrun population.

From the standpoint of its main purposes, U.S. national defense is a total failure. National defense has lost to immigration policy.

Did you know that 120 languages are spoken in Los Angeles? According to the Census Bureau, the United States now has such a diverse population that 330 languages are in use.

Many immigrants have strong values and are a positive addition to the population, but liberal politicians have created incentives for immigrants not to assimilate. In some states, assimilation has stopped. Immigrant communities are so large and insular that there is no need or pressure to learn English. Ethnic TV programming and radio broadcasts have made news and entertainment independent of English language ability. In place of the English-language schools that were prevalent during the "melting pot" era, today there are ethnic-language schools teaching Persian, Hindi, Mandarin, Korean, Farsi and so forth.

Formerly, the federal government mandated bilingual courses as a way to immerse immigrants in English. Today, English immersion is seen as "racist" and "cultural oppression." Because of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and Supreme Court rulings, all non-English-speaking immigrants must be dealt with in their native tongues to ensure they are not denied welfare benefits, medical care, schooling, access to job training programs and employment.

In order for government handout agencies to service the teeming millions of non-English speakers, the demand for interpreters has escalated, putting more financial stress on government budgets and, ultimately, the taxpayers.

Legal-aid agencies are suing government social-service agencies — which cannot handle languages such as Wolof, Tswana, Hmong and Queche — for discriminating on the basis of national origin. To avoid the lawsuits, government agencies now discriminate against the English-speaking native born. The Santa Ana police department, for example, will only hire bilingual persons.

Millions of those who make up our Tower of Babel are illiterate in their own languages. They cannot be taught English when they cannot read or write in their native languages.

Debate over immigration, to the extent there is one, is about money: Do immigrants pay more in taxes than they take out in social services? A more pertinent question is: Have we lost our country to legions of foreigners who have no incentive to assimilate? Some Hispanic leaders in the Southwest have declared that their intention is secession.

U.S. immigration policy does not differentiate between legal and illegal immigration, as illegals are periodically amnestied and given citizenship. The word has gone out to Third World peoples: "If you make it to America, you are likely to stay — unless Castro wants you back."

The 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 immigration reform have loaded the dice against native-born citizens of European descent. Ted Kennedy manipulated the "reform" to guarantee that almost all of our immigrants are "people of color." The Civil Rights Act was manipulated so that "people of color" became "preferred minorities" with legal rights over and above those of American males of European descent, who have become legally disadvantaged by their gender and light skin color.

IRS statistics show that the bulk of the income tax is paid by 10 percent of the population. You can safely bet that this 10 percent speaks English.

Our current immigration policy means that by the year 2050 Americans of European descent, a group that comprised 90 percent of the population in 1960, will be in the minority and will have lost control over their political destiny. How does this differ from being overrun by the Chinese army? ■

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Immigrants Have No Plans to Assimilate

by Sam Francis

One reason there's not much of a debate about the mass immigration that has swept into the country during the last 30 years is that most of the eggheads who expound on immigration harbor the fond illusion that the immigrants will assimilate — that is, learn the English language, adopt Western and American values and live, work and conduct themselves like everybody else in the country. That, of course, is pretty much what earlier generations of immigrants did, and the result has been satisfactory for everyone.

But that's not what present-day immigrants are doing, which means that they're not behaving the way the eggheads — and the lawmakers who listened to them — anticipated. Not only does the United States now sport such quaint Third World customs as child marriage, female genital mutilation and alien religions that are little more than voodoo and black magic, but also we enjoy the rising babble of more than 300 different languages.

Language is one of the major bonds that holds a nation together and distinguishes it from other nations, and it's also one of the easiest things for immigrants to adopt in the process of assimilation. And if immigrants don't adopt the language of their new country it's very likely they haven't assimilated and don't intend to assimilate. In the case of recent immigrants to this country, it's now pretty clear they're not assimilating and have no plans to get on with it.

This week, the *Washington Times* published a story about the language enclaves developing in the United States precisely because of unassimilated immigrants. It turns out that there are some 300 different languages now spoken in this country, and as of 1990, some 31.6 million people who speak them. That's one-seventh of the entire population, and that was 10 years ago. Today, there are a lot more.

"The changes," the story tells us, "are reducing the prevalence and primacy of English in American life and culture. More than ever, modern America is multilingual." You don't really need newspapers to tell you that. Go to the bank in most metropolitan areas, and the teller machine asks you which language you want to do business in. Churches, shopping centers, and many stores and restaurants sport signs and ads in languages other than the mother tongue.

Immigration is the overwhelming reason for the sprouting of the linguistic jungle in America, but there are also other forces at work. For one thing, as the article also notes, "Immigrant communities in some states have become so large and insular that greater numbers of people find no need to learn English." Little Havana in Miami is the example the story offers, but it's not alone.

Indeed, this points to the whole problem with mass immigration that brings in too many people too fast. When immigrants can have their own languages — and their customs and values — reinforced by large numbers of people like themselves from the same places, they don't need to assimilate. Instead, they form their own communities and enclaves, and the surrounding society has to assimilate to them.

Add to that the general weakening of the social disciplines in American culture over the last 30 years, and what you have is not the assimilation of immigrants but what may be the impending disintegration of the

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cultural — and maybe eventually the political — bonds of the nation. Affirmative action, laws that outlaw discrimination, bilingual education and similar pea-brained notions have made it almost impossible for native or assimilated Americans to enforce their culture and language on newcomers.

The *Times* article also points out that the immigrants themselves often don't much care about adapting to their new homeland and its language and folkways. "There has been a widely reported surge in the growth of special ethnic language schools teaching Persian, Hindi, Mandarin, Korean, Farsi, Czech and other languages to immigrant youth. ...They offer a way for immigrant parents to instill in their youngsters the parents' native culture and traditions while keeping their offspring from total assimilation into U.S. culture."

That's swell, of course. Everyone should grow up learning the traditions and culture their parents teach them. An even better way to learn it would be for the immigrants to go back to their own countries and teach their kids there.

But what the linguistic anarchy now descending on the local schools, governments, economies and culture of the nation means is that there is less and less pressure on new immigrants to assimilate at all, and more and more pressure on Americans already here to adapt themselves to what the immigrants prefer. And, as that occurs, there are fewer and fewer American leaders — eggheads or lawmakers — interested in trying to halt the flow of immigration or the massive injection of alien tongues and folkways the immigrants inject into the disintegrating American civilization. ■

Union Cards for Illegals?

by Georgie Anne Geyer

Almost unusual meeting was held recently in Chicago that bodes serious changes for American society.

The national leadership of organized labor — those same AFL-CIO officials who had always regarded illegal or "undocumented" laborers as a prime enemy — are now calling for: (1) new laws to grant amnesty and permanent residency to illegal aliens, and (2) new laws that would criminalize "employer exploitation of such undocumented workers."

The unions had undergone an epiphany ever since an initial meeting in February when their executive council declared that, in these changes, "we are on the side of working people everywhere" — whether they came to the United States on slave ships, through Ellis Island or, today, across the Mexican border.

This was designed to be a humanitarian decision, one that would set the stage for granting the same protections and, indeed, the special rights and privileges of American labor to illegal aliens.

There were no apologies about supporting a blanket amnesty to men and women who have deliberately broken U.S. laws by entering the country and working here illegally. Indeed, at least so far as I could see, there was no discussion at all of the historic importance of citizenship, which uniquely links Americans together.

What is really happening is that, as they lose members across the country, and as they see their power threatened by globalization and by the breakup of national industries, the unions are moving to import a new proletariat, and they are not alone. Both the big "globalized" corporations, which look upon defenders of the nation-state as quaint antiquarians and the American administration, are allied with the unions.

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Only a few years ago, in the beginning of the 1990s, Congress and even the Immigration and Naturalization Service took some minimal acts to control illegal immigration in ways that would address U.S. national interests. Employer sanctions were imposed and, for a while, imperfectly carried through — against, for instance, employers who knowingly employed illegal aliens.

Today, all of those attempts are a thing of the past: Administration policies now are focused not on how to control our borders, but on stepping up efforts on every level to protect illegals from "discrimination." In this new politically correct immigration thinking, questions of discrimination clearly have overridden all those old questions of law and citizenship.

Make no mistake about it: There are terrible employer abuses of illegal aliens, and they should be addressed. But they should be addressed at the border, where such minor historical gestures of respect between nations as requiring visas and telling the truth should be enforced. They should be addressed by the law, by the courts and by Congress, and in serious discussions of what type of new citizens this country wants and how many we can absorb.

Instead, what the unions are doing now is turning the entire process on its head. They are saying that, because illegal workers are sometimes discriminated against, they should be organized and protected by American unions. But the real problem is that it is precisely because they are here illegally that they are being used and abused.

When you listen carefully, the unions are also expressing other attitudes. At the Chicago meeting, for instance, Linda Chavez-Thompson, AFL-CIO executive vice president, warned that if immigrant workers suddenly disappeared, they would leave behind 5 million to 6 million of the "hottest, stinkiest, dirtiest, lowest-paying jobs there are — jobs that most American workers would not want anyway."

Dan Stein, executive director of the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), warns that this kind of attitude represents "the shift in power within the labor movement away from trade unionism toward unionized government bureaucrats and teachers, all of whom benefit from having a larger 'clientele' of poor immigrants."

Guest-worker programs have been proposed — programs that would bring necessary workers here in an orderly and supervised fashion and that could at least begin to solve the problem — but the unions have remained adamantly against them. "Guest workers cannot be unionized," Mr. Stein summed up.

There are at least two great dangers to what is happening: First, on the micro level, take the example of a recent report of the U.S. Commission on Civic Rights, hardly a conservative group. Flying in the face of all the liberal politically correct thinking about immigration, the commission warned of a "darker side to the immigration story." It painted a picture of a New York City riddled with ethnic tension and strife, where much of the city's foreign population is poor, frustrated and angry. This is occurring across the country under the surface of all those superficially rosy pictures of immigrant success.

Second, on the macro level, it should not seem too much to ask of Americans — whether the big corporations, the big unions or the average citizens — that they at least pause occasionally to address national concerns. With actions such as these of the AFL-CIO, we are sinking ever deeper into becoming a people whose demands on the nation bear no resemblance whatsoever to their commitment to this society. This severs even further the old civic circle in the nation, which binds loyalty to responsibility, responsibility to representation, representation to privilege.

The greatest danger to the United States has never been that we would be defeated from outside; the greatest danger has always been a wantonness that arises at times of too-confident prosperity, that we can do everything without cost, and that the rules of human history and common sense don't apply to us. Don't they really? ■

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Culture Studies 101

Book Review by Kevin Lamb

A renewed interest in culture among social scientists at the end of the 20th Century points to an interesting paradox in the evolution of cultural theories. During the mid-1900s, the views of 'social anthropologists' like Franz Boas, Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, and Ashley Montagu — progressives who considered human nature to be infinitely elastic — challenged hereditarian theories about human behavior. The notion that culture rather than genes cause human *behavioral* differences created a paradigmatic shift among social scientists; ethnic and racial dissimilarities were viewed as cultural artifacts. The logical extension of this rationale found 'society' culpable for persistent economic and social disparities between human populations.

During the late 1960s, iconoclastic scholars like the late Edward Banfield challenged the underlying assumptions of this 'progressive' theory. By scrutinizing *comparative* cultural factors, Banfield recognized the importance of individual and group traits. Accordingly, differences in human attributes, rather than 'racism' or 'oppression,' accounted for the tapestry of urban social conditions — from affluent neighborhoods to indigent ghettos. This spurred Banfield's skepticism as to the effectiveness of government efforts to eliminate adverse social conditions.

An eclectic mix of contemporary scholars have revived much of Banfield's ideas about culture in a thoughtful collection of essays edited by Lawrence Harrison and Samuel P. Huntington, two well-respected Harvard academicians. The contributors reflect upon a variety of comparative factors indicative of cultural variation, which determine economic prosperity as well as social and political stability within advanced nations. Most seem to conclude that the difference between economically prosperous nations and backward third world countries is directly attributed to *selected cultural traits*. As Francis Fukuyama points out, shared norms and altruistic values in the Weberian tradition — persistence, thrift, honesty and reciprocity — create *a bond of trust between inhabitants* within productive societies. The element of trust fails to take root in severely corrupt nations like Nigeria, primarily because of the lack of human qualities essential for 'social capital' and the endurance of civil society.

Culture Matters: How Values Shape Human Progress
(Ed.) by Lawrence E. Harrison and Samuel Huntington
New York: Basic Books
348 pages, $35.00

Levels of trust seem to solidify in market-based societies that, according to Seymour Martin Lipset and Gabriel Salman Lenz, maintain solid democratic traditions. Dictatorial regimes foster corruption, social turmoil and political upheaval. Lipset and Lenz attribute the "emergence of developed economies" to an emphasis on "rationality, small family size, achievement, social mobility, and universalism." Both credit sociologist Robert K. Merton for deriving a coherent social theory from cultural factors. The reason why Western societies are not as *rampantly* corrupt as third world societies is because of the Western allegiance to constitutional principles and democratic traditions that respect individual rights and value personal responsibility.

In one of the more revealing essays, Harvard Sociologist Nathan Glazer considers the "shifting status" of culture "as an explanation over the last century." Glazer argues that culture, as an explanation for group differences in economic, social, and political outcomes, remains second only to race as "one of the less-favored explanatory categories in current thinking." As Glazer puts it,

> *We prefer not to refer to or make use of it today, yet there does seem to be a link between race and culture, perhaps only accidental. The great*

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races on the whole are marked by different cultures, and this connection between culture and race is one reason for our discomfort with cultural explanations.

More often than not *traits* of culture, like race or ethnicity, prevail against change (fads and fashions) given the stubborn nature of *group* traits. Consider assimilation patterns within culturally diverse nations. Contemporary 'multiculturalism' considers the clustering of inassimilable nationalities or ethnic populations as a national asset; a diverse plurality of peoples *without a common homogeneous culture* is considered a national strength rather than weakness. For the majority, native-born population, cultural change within a community is identified with the inassimilable traits of migrant populations' — values and group norms that differ from a community's host population. The issue when a community evolves demographically is the extent to which a new set of cultural traditions *displaces* rather than *assimilates* with the host culture.

Glazer accepts the influential reality of culture, but argues that education can triumph across cultural lines. Primitive cultures can prosper economically *if* education becomes a hallmark value; differences among cultures are little more than superficial qualities once any given culture values the importance of universal education. Glazer's argument glosses over the fact that genetically conditioned behavioral traits, differences in IQ, personality and temperament, may act as a surrogate factor. Economic success is considered commensurate with higher levels of educational attainment, but what about higher *average* IQ levels? How would Glazer explain the track record of Asian and Jewish sub-cultures? By considering the value placed on education and *merely* disregarding comparative averages in ability levels?

Consider the example of Vietnamese refugees. The waves of Vietnamese refugees displaced to the West after the fall of Saigon dispersed thousands of Vietnamese children (many uprooted from their natural parents) across North America and Europe. The drive and personal determination to acquire not only a college education, but also advanced graduate and medical degrees *in foreign lands absent their native language*, reflect the assiduous nature of their own cultural values toward educational achievement *in addition to* selected individual traits of natural ability and perseverance. As the prominent anthropologist Clark Wissler once noted, most cultures share a common primitive experience with fire and the bow, but what distinguishes one culture from another is the extent to which such primitive tools were eventually utilized. Innovation, as many of the contributors note, is a factor common among vibrant cultures.

In one of the book's more peculiar essays, Harvard Sociologist Orlando Patterson attempts to clarify the "Afro-American experience" in terms of culture. More specifically, Patterson seeks to justify a cultural explanation for "Afro-American problems," which he contends has been disputed or improperly ignored. He scores on two points: Patterson legitimately argues that economic models fail to explain the persistent social and behavioral chaos that defines inner-urban life; culture explains a great deal of this existence. Where Patterson's argument becomes tenuous at best is his explanation of *how* these adverse conditions entered into African-American culture: the advent of slavery. He also takes issue with the findings of Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray's much publicized 1994 tome *The Bell Curve*. Patterson makes the unsubstantiated claim that Herrnstein and Murray were on the "losing" side of the "so-called Bell Curve Wars." This may reflect the public's skewed perception given the volume of popular criticism that the book's findings generated; it certainly fails to encompass the relevant perspective of scholars within the scope of IQ research. In essence, Patterson seems adrift with a carefully finessed theory that lacks credibility.

Some of the contributors seem ambivalent about exploring the relationship between cultural variation and differences in population traits for the obvious reason: such topics are better left unexamined in the 'PC' climate of contemporary scholarship. The book's direction also lacks the analytical synthesis of a sociobiologist with stature, like the distinguished Harvard scholar Edward O. Wilson, who could enlighten with a probe of the epigenetic foundations of culture. Still, on balance Harrison and Huntington have broken much needed ground on a significant yet neglected topic. ■

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Getting Malthus Right

Book Review Essay by John Attarian

Few thinkers have been so widely — and badly — misstated and misunderstood as Thomas Robert Malthus, the Anglican parson, mathematician and economist whose 1798 *Essay on the Principle of Population* bluntly made an issue of population pressure on food supply. Malthus has been vilified as an unfeeling monster who maintained that because population always outruns its sustenance, if the poor are helped, they will simply breed until their living standard is depressed again. He is dismissed, too, as a myopic pessimist who didn't anticipate agricultural machinery, cultivation of the Great Plains, the Green Revolution, and such.

The Reverend Thomas Robert Malthus AM FRS: Demi-Devil, Saint, or Merely Great Benefactor?
by Jack Parsons
Cardiff, Wales, UK: Sir David Owen Population Centre
63 pages, $7.50

In this concise and lucid monograph, based on a lecture at Cardiff University for the bicentenary of Malthus's *Essay*, Jack Parsons, Visiting Lecturer at the University's Sir David Owen Population Center, handily dispels several Malthus myths. (Portions appeared in Parsons's essay in *The Social Contract*'s Malthus issue, Vol.VIII, No.3, Spring 1998.)

Setting him in the context of Georgian England's brutality, Parsons persuasively shows that Malthus was actually quite emancipated from the "received thinking" of his times. Far from the flintheart of caricature, he loathed slavery, opposed class favoritism in law and justice, condemned unequal property ownership, and advocated universal education. Parsons also provides a useful survey of the responses to Malthus's theory.

But it is regarding the theory itself and its continued relevance that Parsons is most valuable. The "pop" version of Malthus's population theory, already mentioned, is wildly inaccurate. In fact, Malthus wanted social improvement, and intended his theory to correct the utopianism of William Godwin, the Marquis de Condorcet, and others, who, carried away by the French Revolution, thought that human perfection was imminent. He wanted to bring them "back down to earth and get them to go in for *realistic* [Parsons's italics] measures of reform."

Fair enough. So too is Parsons's account of Malthus's assumptions: that the world is a loving God's creation; that He intends its evils to spur us to try to overcome them; that man is lazy and requires necessity to make him act; that we need food to survive, that man's greatest motive is self-interest; that "the passion between the sexes" will remain "nearly in its present state."

When Parsons addresses the theory itself, though, trouble erupts. Malthus said, he states, that food supply tends to increase arithmetically: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, etc., whereas population tends to rise geometrically: 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, etc.

> *Hence, there tends to be an ever-widening gap between populations and their food supplies. Of course there cannot really be an unduly large or permanently widening gap between the two curves since humans must have food to stay alive. The great thing is the tendency for the gap to widen, so that some set of influences must keep a balance of sorts between the two.* [Parson's emphasis]

This is uncomfortably near the common misrepresentation of Malthus which one encounters even among those who should know better: that food supply grows arithmetically whereas population grows geometrically, creating an ever- greater divergence between them, so eventually disease, famine and such

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must reduce population to what the food supply can support.

Actually, Malthus explicitly stated that "population must always be kept down to the level of the means of subsistence," that "Population, *when unchecked*, increases in a geometrical ratio. Subsistence only in an arithmetical ratio." Since food is necessary for life, "the effects of these two unequal powers must be *kept equal*. This implies a strong and *constantly operating* check on population from the difficulty of subsistence." (italics added)[1] Malthus reiterated that "the great law of our nature" keeps the effects of these two trends equal, and that "in no state that we have yet known" was geometric population growth actually the case; he referred repeatedly to the "constant operation of the strong law of necessity" restraining population growth, the "constant check upon population."[2] For Malthus, the check on population growth is *always* operating. How then can the gap between population and sustenance tend to widen? In Malthus's theory there *is no* "Malthusian trap" caused by this growing divergence, there is no eventual comeuppance administered by famine and such, and those who say that there is have simply got Malthus wrong.

To his credit, Parsons does note that the arithmetic and geometric progressions were meant as "an illustrative gimmick." And he does imply the constancy of the check's operation, and quotes Malthus on this. But he would have done better to make this explicit and emphatic, and shun the misleading stress on the "tendency" for the "gap" to widen.

Redemptively, he accurately presents Malthus's systems of checks on population growth — the dual system of "preventive" and "positive" checks (which depress the birth rate and raise the death rate, respectively), and the tripartite system of checks: misery, vice, and "moral restraint" — that is, refraining from or postponing marriage, meanwhile eschewing fornication.

Parsons shows, too, that Malthus did not oppose population growth when resources could support it; recognized that food production could be increased, perhaps indefinitely; and abhorred coercive measures to control population. Thus, Malthus' beliefs about these matters "are the exact opposite of those typically attributed to him."

Many "Malthusians," Parsons rightly observes, are actually far removed from Malthus, in advocating what the good parson abhorred: birth control and state population control policies. He makes the important point that the Catholic Church largely adheres to Malthus's theory. Like him, the Church condemns extramarital sex, contraception, abortion, and government population control, and favors responsible parenthood. It does allow rhythm and natural family planning, which Parsons speculates he may have opposed.

"Parsons shows, too, that Malthus did not oppose population growth when resources could support it; recognized that food production could be increased, perhaps indefinitely; and abhorred coercive measures to control population."

However, Parsons errs again in arguing that Malthus was a "structuralist," a believer that rapid population growth does not cause poverty, hunger and other problems, hence they must issue from a society's structure — its laws, government, institutions, etc. For structuralists, "population is a dependent variable and so cannot possibly modify other variables and thus become a cause of social, economic or other problems." This is Malthus's position, Parsons argues, relying on quotations (including some from Malthus's *Summary View of the Principle of Population* which Parsons wrongly attributes to the *Essay*'s first edition) which maintain that due to institutions, etc., population in some countries is not as high as it could be.

But this is not the same as arguing that structure causes poverty, or that population is a dependent variable and can't create problems. Malthus said explicitly that a population increase, unaccompanied

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by a proportionate increase in food, would reduce each person's food supply, i.e., depress living standards. And while he acknowledged institutional imperfections, his emphasis was overwhelmingly on the relation between population and sustenance as the "insurmountable" obstacle to social perfectibility. "All other arguments," he added, "are of slight and subordinate consideration in comparison with this"[3] — which necessarily relegates structural causes of misery to minor importance. And he explicitly rebuked Godwin for attributing almost all vice and misery to institutions, and contends that while "unfair combinations" by the rich do frequently prolong suffering among the poor, "yet no possible form of society could prevent the almost constant action of misery" upon most people under inequality, and upon everybody under equality.[4]

In arguing Malthus's ongoing relevance, Parsons is on solid ground. The modern world, he points out, is "malthusian" in the negative sense of population pressure outrunning carrying capacity, with shortages of agricultural land (much of it damaged by bad stewardship), water, and other resources. Today's world population of six billion, as opposed to the theoretically possible 300 billion implied by the geometric progression and a 25-year population doubling time, indicates that powerful checks must have operated — just as Malthus argued. Post-Malthus population economics has added new conceptual tools such as human capital, but Malthus's central concern remains: the relationship between population, resources and the quality of life. The basic, "inescapable" realities, Parsons maintains, are that material resources are for practical purposes finite; population growth is potentially infinite; and so eventually population growth must be arrested, somehow. Humanity's choice is to raise the death rate or lower the birth rate.

Malthus, Parsons concludes, was a "great benefactor" of humanity, because he desired feasible improvements, while insisting on reminding us of reality's disciplines. Parsons's monograph is a sturdy and valuable effort at rehabilitating Malthus and rescuing him from falsifiers. All those interested in Malthus or the issues he raised would profit from it.

They would profit, too, from taking Parsons's advice to read Malthus for themselves — going to the original source, as scholars should. Doing so, and getting Malthus right, would demolish many misunderstandings. For instance, the optimists' jeer that Malthus failed to anticipate the Green Revolution etc. and has therefore been refuted rings hollow, as it rests on the ubiquitous falsification of his theory: the widening gap, the Malthusian trap, and such. Malthus argued that an increased food supply would lead to increased population; that Europe's historical population growth was due to greater food output; and that "*population constantly bears a regular proportion to the food that the earth is made to produce* [Malthus's italics]."[5] That the Green Revolution and other improvements enable a much larger population to exist does not refute Malthus, it *supports* him!

Moreover, the late Julian Simon's optimism about population growth flowed from demolition of a straw Malthus. Malthus, Simon said, held that human population displays "constant geometric growth" and that "because fertility goes up as income goes up, the extra population eats up the extra income," so mankind tends "to be squeezed down to a long-run equilibrium of living at bare subsistence." The "core" of Malthus's theory, according to Simon, is that "population increases faster than does the means of sustenance and continues until the standard of living has fallen to bare subsistence."[6] As should by now be clear, this is an outrageous distortion. And Malthus said nothing about long-run equilibrium at "bare subsistence." It says something about today's standards of scholarship and discourse that Simon got away with this tendentious falsification.

Insofar as criticisms and dismissals of Malthus rest on misrepresentations, they are untenable. Far from having proved their case, Malthus's detractors haven't even started doing their job.

In a deeper sense, Malthus is vindicated. His essential point is that we live in a limited world which constrains our possibilities, and that reality has the last word. Of course Malthus is right. The instant we were conceived, we were doomed to die. Death, indeed, is the ultimate, unanswerable argument for the reality of limits and the limits of reality.

His rebukes to Condorcet and Godwin regarding human perfectibility remain relevant, because we face

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an uncannily parallel situation today. Today's computer revolution, globalization and prosperity are for economics what the French Revolution was for politics, spawning frothy speculation that mankind is approaching Utopia. The utopians he debunked eerily resemble Simon and others, who dismiss scarcity constraints and assert a prospect of limitless growth and abundance, as if reality is infinitely malleable and we can get something for nothing. And Malthus's refutations apply to them too.

Condorcet argued, Malthus wrote, that though man is not immortal, his lifespan will constantly increase, "will have no assignable term, and may properly be expressed by the word 'indefinite.' He then defines this word to mean either a constant approach to an unlimited extent, without ever reaching it, or an increase in the immensity of ages to an extent greater than any assignable quantity." Similarly, Simon declared that resources are not finite, because their amounts, like the number of points in a one-inch line, "can never be known even in principle.... Hence resources are not 'finite' in any meaningful sense."

Responding to Condorcet, Malthus the mathematician nailed the flaw in Simon too: "a careful distinction should be made, between an unlimited progress, and a progress where the limit is merely undefined." The error lies "in not discriminating between a small improvement, the limit of which is undefined, and an improvement really unlimited." In like manner, Simon confused an infinite supply of a resource with a merely undefined quantity of it.

Whatever may be said against his specifics, Malthus's essential point holds: it's a limited world, which limits what we can do.

Where he did err was in failing to reckon with the impact of beliefs on behavior. The Reverend Malthus apparently took Christianity's continued dominion over the West, and with it a continued robust affirmation of the goodness of life and existence, for granted. He failed to anticipate the West's Gadarene plunge into economism, feminism, decadence and nihilism, manifested in pervasive rejection of children and parenthood amounting to a death wish. The passion between the sexes is as great as ever — indeed, judging from our loathsome smut "culture," it is apparently an obsession — but bears ever-fewer fruits. Indeed Europeans and native-born Americans are playing out Kipling's grim warning in "The Gods of the Copybook Headings":

On the first Feminian Sandstones
we were promised the Fuller Life
(Which started by loving our neighbour
and ended by loving his wife)
Till our women had no more children
and the men lost reason and faith,
And the Gods of the Copybook Headings said:
"*The Wages of Sin is Death.*"

Mass immigration since the Seventies offsets the native birth implosion, though, so Malthus's posited situation of population growth pressing on subsistence still obtains. If subsistence is redefined to encompass all resources needed to sustain a decent Western standard of living, Malthus's moral about reality limiting our possibilities becomes still more stark. Seen in light of today's depleted aquifers, water shortages, overtaxed power grids, cropland erosion, and the coming "end of cheap oil," the talk of unlimited growth, a "long boom" of global prosperity and a Dow Jones Industrial Average of 36,000 or more looks as fatuous as the utopian prattle Malthus chastised. When this new striving for Utopia hits the wall of reality's limits and fails, as it inevitably must, Malthus will murmur across the centuries: "I told you so."

Malthus lives. ■

NOTES

[1] Thomas Robert Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population and A Summary View of the Principle of Population,* ed. Antony Flew (Harmondsworth, England, UK: Penguin Books, 1970), pp.61, 71.

[2] Ibid., pp.72, 73, 76, 78.

[3] Ibid., pp.77, 72.

[4] Ibid., pp.133, 79.

[5] Ibid., pp.79, 86-87.

[6] Julian Simon, *The Ultimate Resource* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981), pp.163, 184, 186.

[7] Malthus, *Essay on the Principle of Population*, p.125.

[8] Simon, *Ultimate Resource*, p.47.

[9] Malthus, *Essay on the Principle of Population*, pp.128, 128-130.

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Economism's Antecedents

How we were taught to love growth

Books Reviewed by Paul Rondell

In the 1950s and 1960s Vance Packard wrote several books in which he documented and analyzed contemporary social trends. *The Hidden Persuaders* and *The Waste Makers* dealt with the development of new techniques for manipulating consumer attitudes and behaviors. His books were extremely popular (*The Hidden Persuaders* went through 27 printings between 1957 and 1974) but have had little lasting impact, except, no doubt, on the advertising industry itself. This is unfortunate since the methodologies described in these books have been honed and polished to contribute greatly to the development of what John Attarian has called "economism," a new secular religion in which nothing seems to matter but the economy — not nation, culture, ethnicity nor language ("Economism and the National Prospect," *The Social Contract*, Vol. X, No.2, Winter 1999-2000).

The Hidden Persuaders
by Vance Packard
New York: David McKay Co., Inc. (1957)
275 pages

The Waste Makers
by Vance Packard
New York: David McKay, Co., Inc. (1960) 340 pages

In *The Hidden Persuaders* Packard documents the introduction of professional psychologists' motivational research into the advertising industry in the 1950s and its powerful effects. As a public we began to be sold products, not because of their intrinsic qualities, but because of their symbolic significance to our wishes, our fears and hopes — our subconscious. The depth probers searched for these symbols with word-association-polling to find which slogans worked effectively and which failed. These were the forerunners of the modern "focus groups" which are used to develop campaign issues and productive slogans.

One advantage in the use of symbols is that they can be created and re-created. For example, as Packard describes, the image of prunes was effectively changed from a fruit for old, wrinkled, constipated seniors to a delicious, sweet treat for healthy, regular, active youth. Prune sales soared, to the delight of the California Prune Advisory Board who had hired the motivational researchers to make that happen.

The advancing technologies gave marketers far greater control over what and how much people bought.

In *The Waste Makers* Packard probed the increasing commercialization of American life — the development of consumption for consumption's sake. But even more accurately, and ominously, consumption for the sake of the economy. In the late 1950s it appeared we might reach a "saturation point" at which people, having everything they needed, might foster a serious sales slump and trigger a recession. Indeed, a recession occurred and the public was bombarded with slogans: "Buy now, the job you save may be your own," "You auto buy now," "Buy your way to prosperity," and more.

Significantly, this sloganeering was prompted, not by the advertising industry but by the government. President Eisenhower himself provided the encouragement and set the theme: that we must consume for the sake of the economy. That commitment continues with such contemporary political catch phrases as "It's the economy, stupid," and "We must grow the economy."

Packard effectively documented how growth became an unexamined virtue. The rise in consumption and in the number of consumers became

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an unqualified good. He examines the development of planned obsolescence as essential for growth — not only the obsolescence of the product itself, but the fading of its desirability. For instance, traditionally furniture had been purchased for quality and durability. The author shows how attitudes were manipulated to condition people to expect and desire periodic re-decorating. The manufactured obsolescence of desirability toward automobiles has been legendary.

During recent decades, the growth of consumption ceased to be a luxury and became a national imperative.

Packard examined the implications of this continually expanding growth on natural resources and on the American character. He concluded with some suggested corrective courses of action including the restoration of pride in quality and prudence in maintaining environmental balance.

If the nation had paid more attention to Packard's observations and admonitions, John Attarian may not have had the occasion to observe, nearly a half-century later, that America is

> *...a culture that prized self-restraint and loyalty to high standards and presented heroes for emulation (but which) has been replaced by a commercially fabricated "culture" of entertainment which does economism's work.* [op.cit.] ■

Multiculturalism's Dark Heritage Toward Women

A world of cruelty comes to America

Book Review by Brenda Walker

The author, a Stanford professor of political science, opens this collection of essays with a well-documented article arguing against the curious idea that women have common cause with advocates of multiculturalism. Professor Orkin outlines some notable examples of gender-specific oppression along with her mild suggestion that, yes, multiculturalism might be harmful to women. The scholarship of the piece is thorough and includes some eye-opening examples. The lack of passion is disappointing, but not surprising, given that the book is targeted toward an academic audience.

Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?
by Susan Moller Okin
Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press
146 pages, $12.95

What follows is a series of responses to the general inquiry posed by the title. The selections range from thoughtful engagement to unclear misses to the question presented. A few writers squirm intellectually, apparently unwilling to confront the prickly subject of women's continuing oppression. The immediate lapse into arguments about definition, e.g. "Culturally relevant feminism," is a good clue that the author is going nowhere. Some Islamic writers seem content to dump Muslim misogyny at the feet of "culture," as if that were an acceptable excuse for a religion essentially sanctioning practices like mutilation, slavery and murder. (We recall that there was no Islamic hue and cry against the "Fatwah" murder edict toward novelist Salman Rushdie, just as that community has expressed little disapproval of cruelty toward women within its confines.)

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Feminist columnist Katha Pollitt of *The Nation* remarks in her opening that "coming in late in this debate," she had a "hard time understanding how anyone could find these arguments controversial." She further declares that the very nature of feminism questions the claims of tradition. "You could say that multiculturalism demands respect for all cultural traditions, while feminism interrogates and challenges all cultural traditions ... fundamentally, the ethical claims of feminism run counter to the cultural relativism of group-rights multiculturalism." She is unusual in this regard: her feminist viewpoint is undeniable, particularly in comparison with some of the book's other essayists. She takes women's issues seriously and has a passionate voice. Some of the others seem academics first in their sensibilities and approach women's oppression worldwide as if they were diagramming a sentence.

It might be time to hang some meat on the bones of "women's oppression" — an expression that does not convey what second-class humanity means in a person's life. These practices include unequal rights to property, child custody, health care, nutrition, political participation, education and treatment in the courts. Violence against women is epidemic in many societies, although in the West the practice is at least illegal and perpetrators are prosecuted. In September 1999, Amnesty International released a report, "Pakistan: Honor Killings of Girls and Women" which disclosed that hundreds of women are murdered annually for the smallest affronts to rigid social codes of conduct. An unproved charge of sexual infidelity, even a husband's paranoid dream, may result in a woman being burned or hacked to death. Her murderer receives the approval of his family and community for his action.

Certain other cultural norms can only be considered torture and child abuse. Female genital mutilation is still practiced extensively in dozens of countries on up to two million girls annually. An estimated 135 million women and girls have been subjected to this barbarism. Another abuse of girls is arranged marriage to much older men, which ensures that young wives enter the relationship in a disadvantaged position as regards power, a situation designed to last throughout the marriage. Many polygamous marriages are to minor females, with the aim that male control will prevail. Indeed, in some of these cultures (e.g. the afore-mentioned Pakistan, Taliban-ruled Afghanistan, etc.) the enforced servility of women is so complete that it is hard to see how "marriage" is anything more than sexual slavery.

"...government believes that the U.S. would be better off having more residents from cultures such as these. Every year the earnest minds at the State Department determine which countries are not represented adequately in the American mix, presumably on the theory that the new religion of diversity must be fed to survive."

A custom which still has widespread currency is the requirement that a rapist marry his victim, a practice which exists in Latin America, southeast Asia and west Africa. It is the law in 14 Latin American countries that a rapist will be exonerated if he marries his victim. Clearly, the feelings of the crime's victim account for zero.

Astoundingly, the federal government believes that the United States would be better off having more residents from cultures such as these. Every year the earnest minds at the State Department determine which countries are not represented adequately in the American mix, presumably on the theory that the new religion of diversity must be fed to survive. Around 50,000 residents of these underrepresented countries are chosen from a lottery (known colloquially as the diversity visa program) to be lucky winners on a fast track to a green card. In this year, 2000, those countries include Sudan, Jordan, Pakistan and others which legally sanction cruelty to women. Importing cultural norms like female genital mutilation and honor killing guarantee that America's diversity will

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absolutely be increased, although certainly at no advantage to Americans.

The essay, "Liberal Complacencies," by Will Kymlicka is mentioned by several other authors as a

"Even the strongest feminists in this book do not seem to grasp that importing millions of misogynist foreigners conflicts with their goal of furthering the rights of women."

point of reference. He is the author of the book, *Multicultural Citizenship*, and is a well-known proponent of the notion that cultural groups should have special rights and should be cut extra slack around having to follow the same laws as the rest of us. He does a cautious tippy-toe around the issue of women's oppression within the same groups which he regards with such admiration. Of course, violence against women is Bad, he says, and he's against it. Yet his main conceptural framework is is that cultural communities should have "group rights," by definition the opposite of individual rights, a concept that has been rather central to the American political system. And women's rights have been most strongly defended in countries where the legal accent is on individual rights. Mr. Kymlicka (a professor at Queen's University in Kingston, Canada) contributes an academic rationale for the excuse, "my culture made me do it." In addition, he throws fuel on the fire of balkanization at a time when both the United States and Canada have potent forces moving toward separatism.

Of course, no one in this volume questions the underlying concept that "diversity" should be imported en masse through Washington's absurd preference for cultures vastly different from our own. Would it be shocking to suggest that some cultures are a better fit than others? Where would we live more happily — in London or Riyadh? Most Americans would choose an English-speaking, culturally similar city. Would we feel socially comfortable residing in Algiers, Kabul or Kuala Lumpur? Probably not. But Washington creates a comparable situation through its emphasis on "diversity" in immigration categories. We shouldn't be surprised when members of disparate cultures have great difficulty with even the most basic aspects of assimilation, given the enormous cultural divide. Consider the Hmong who only recently developed a written language and supported themselves in Laos by means of simple agriculture. The Hmong have not had great success in adapting to the United States, clinging as they do to having large families and showing high levels of gang activity, unemployment and welfare use.

Even the strongest feminists in this book do not seem to grasp that importing millions of misogynist foreigners conflicts with their goal of furthering the rights of women. Or perhaps they are constrained by political correctness to refrain from speaking this obvious truth. The subject of immigration policy is hardly mentioned, despite the fact that it is the main engine bringing diversity of all sorts to America.

Okin's book is a tiny red flag of warning where a flashing neon sign would be more appropriate. There are gems of information for those of a scholarly bent (as well as some politically correct silliness). However, this is not a book that will waken American women to the threat of multiculturalism to hard-won rights. ■

The Sierra Club and Immigration

David Brower, 88, one of America's most prominent environmentalists, resigned from the Sierra Club after an extensive relationship which included membership since 1933 and serving as its first executive director from 1952 to 1969.

"The Sierra Club is very sad that he chose to resign," said Robert Cox, Sierra Club board president. "His history with the Club was one of tremendous accomplishments, from public lands protections to inaugurating Sierra Club publications. We hope he remains very close to the Sierra Club for years to come."

Cox said the biggest conflict Brower had with the Club was on U.S. immigration policy. "He wanted us to take a stronger stand to advocate restriction because of his concern about population pressures in the United States," Cox said.

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Is America Destined for a Yugoslav Scenario?

Book Review by Miles D. Wolpin

Only a small percentage of the American majority who oppose mass immigration accord high salience to the issue. Most of the latter tend to be adversely affected in some tangible manner. Chittum's lucidly written work is undoubtedly increasing the ranks of those who are intensely concerned because it makes a plausible case for considerable personal harm to many of us in the near future.

This of course assumes that such readers wish to preserve the American nation and its territorial integrity. For the growing minority who already have given up on America and give a higher priority to their own ethnic or racial group, the author offers some advice about survival for the decades ahead.

Civil War II: The Coming Breakup of America

by Thomas W. Chittum
Show Low, AZ: American Eagle Publications, 1-800-719-4957
www.civilwartwo.com
197 pages, $12.95

Despite its alarmist title, *Civil War II* neither advocates such an eventuality nor does the author claim such a calamity is inevitable. He actually suggests policies for the U.S. like those in Belgium and Switzerland that provide for much-enhanced state or regional ethnically-based autonomy that have preserved the viability of these multi-ethnic states.

Indeed the theoretical basis of his work is an analysis — albeit too limited — of the relationship between the degree of ethnic heterogeneity of existing states and the incidence of collective violence. While focused on the European culture area, the author assumes the applicability of his analysis to the United States, the former Soviet Union and even Third World states.

High danger to peace and unity internally occurs when the largest ethnic group declines to less than 75 percent of the population — our situation now. In Chittum's view, we have already entered the second or "terrorist" phase which will lead to ultimate Balkanization resulting in two or three new ethno-cultural nations of Hispanics, Blacks and Whites. He envisages a more sanguinary conflict than our first Civil War for two reasons: 1) its ethnic or racial basis; 2) considerable demographic dispersion that will generate ferocious ethnic cleansing.

Thus, the Swiss-Belgium option would be very difficult to implement. Nevertheless, a movement *toward states rights* (i.e., greater autonomy) could elicit voluntary relocation on a scale considerably higher than existing trends and levels. Indeed, the Supreme Court is inching in this direction.

The same could be said of one of the two key policies that are, in Chittum's view, exacerbating racial tensions. That is what he terms "racist affirmative action," which the Court may or may not continue to back away from.

Group preferences have, in his view, not only attenuated the rule of law by making a mockery of "equal protection," but they have catalyzed us through the first pre-Civil War II phase in which ethnic and racial group identities have legally and psychologically supervened citizenship rights and identity as Americans.

The second policy commented upon as being nationally destructive is mass immigration — particularly Hispanic — which is radically altering the ethno-cultural balance, and demographically

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einforcing group preference demands. Curiously, he gnores Asians who variously have been both ɔeneficiaries and targets of such group preferences.

The third pre-Civil War II phase will be marked ɔy widespread outbreaks of black urban rioting, gang :fforts to exclude police from their territories, and ɣuerrilla attacks especially in the southwest where aid

"The wisdom of Chittum's scenario is underscored by the growing institutionalization of virtually all fragmenting policies and trends since his work was published several years ago."

will be funneled from an increasingly unstable Mexico when the dominant forces are bent upon reconquest. 'resumably, at this stage, slow-to-react whites will lock to self-defense organizations if federal gun ontrol hasn't already disarmed them and wiped out heir exposed militias.

In the final stage either a martial law state — lominated by a coalition of transnational corporate ·lites, white radicals and minority elites — will ucceed in imposing its "imperial" rule, or both nilitary and police forces will violently fragment ılong ethnic and racial lines as widespread violence ·rupts. Eventually Chittum predicts "fronts" will be tabilized between an Hispanic Southwest, a Black 3elt in the South and South-East and a Euro-American vhite homogeneous region stretching over two-thirds ɔf the country from the Northeast to the Northwest.

Throughout this well-written and well-edited vork Chittum identifies those types of policy and ɔehavioral occurrences (e.g., purging the military and ɔolice of those resisting racial promotions, assigning ecurity roles to the Nation of Islam, failing to end llegal immigration) that are consistent with his ɔrognosis. These are summarized in his final chapter. Ience, on the flip side, policy changes that would essen the likelihood of such a denouement might also ɔe acknowledged (e.g., a future end to mass immigration or affirmative action). The wisdom of Chittum's scenario is underscored by the growing institutionalization of virtually all fragmenting policies and trends since his work was published several years ago. The same holds for secondary reinforcing policies such as free trade and the globalist assault on national sovereignty.

What is behind this? Like Sam Francis, Chittum acknowledges that historically Euro-Americans played a leading role in forging national institutions, culture and traditions. Gradually a democratic nation of assimilated citizens replaced our post-colonial "empire" of sorts. Yet in recent decades this democratic system has been progressively eroded by a new "empire" dominated by an internationalist corporate elite, and quasi-coopted minority elites which extort payoffs from the former largely at the expense of the confused yet increasingly resentful white middle classes. One could strengthen this assessment by noting that the new establishment's "white radicals" intelligentsia is engaged in a "multiculturalist jihad" intended to denigrate or "deconstruct" the legitimacy of our West European-based traditional national culture and institutions. Alternatively, "victim" groups and their "suppressed" cultures are romanticized. Such perspectives currently infuse most of the mass media and our educational system at all levels.

Chittum is clear in stressing the new elite's reliance upon bureaucratic fiat and judicial decrees to enforce "New World Order" subordination upon white Americans. Yet he fails to explain why intensification of ethnic animus serves the transnational corporate elite's interests. Similarly — given the legislature's democratic significance — Chittum does not address the relative absence of vigorous legislative resistance. Are they also dominated by transnational corporate and self-serving minority elite collaborators? Is this what is meant by frequent references to political "corruption?"

Beyond these questions, some of his key terms such as "empire" and even "democracy" are not clearly defined. His work would have been strengthened by a systematic quantification of types and numbers of events — increasing over time — moving toward or away from a quasi-Hobbesian

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scenario. Do serious divisions remain within Black and Hispanic sectors? Are common nationality bonds more significant and integrative than they appear?

Despite such reservations, this admirable work is extremely well argued. It would be an excellent selection for an introductory political science course — why politics matters? But for the ordinary citizen, its style — even-toned and lacking invective — is nothing less than a call for action. For it highlights trends that — short of a populist national reform movement — may threaten our very existence as a nation within two or three decades.

NOTES ABOUT FURTHER READING

Perhaps because Chittum's work targets a general "Middle American" readership, it is devoid of both theoretical analysis and references to the works of others. Nevertheless there is burgeoning literature that in varying degree enhances the credibility of Chittum's carefully hedged thesis. Three scholarly works of particular value in this respect are Brent Nelson's *America Balkanized,* William Hawkins' *Importing Revolution,* and Joseph Fallon's *Deconstructing America.*

Other serious studies which contribute to our understanding of why high inter-ethnic violence and probable civil war in the decades ahead are clear and present dangers include: Jared Taylor's *Paved with Good Intentions,* Peter Brimelow's *Alien Nation;* Samuel Francis' *Revolution from the Middle;* Georgie Anne Geyer's *Americans No More;* Jack Parsons' *Human Population Competition;* Garrett Hardin's *The Ostrich Factor;* David Horowitz's *Hating Whitey;* Martin Gross' *The End of Sanity;* Alvin Schmidt's *The Menace of Multiculturalism;* and Bob Zelnick's *Backfire.*

Whither Canada's Future?

Immigration politics and cultural change

Book Review by Mark Wegierski

> *We go about congratulating ourselves for our over-exuberant acceptance of mostly bogus refugees, with the rest of the world snickering at us for the suckers that we are.*
>
> —"Report of British Columbia and Yukon Immigration Staff," 1994, p.141
> (withheld by the Federal Government)

Charles M. Campbell (born 1913), graduated from the University of British Columbia in engineering in 1938. He worked in the Canadian mining industry for thirty-five years, and has served ten years on the former Canadian Immigration Appeal Board, eight of these as a vice-chairman. This book may be seen, in the area of immigration issues, as "the last strangled cry" of the old Canada. Although Campbell writes with a degree of good cheer and optimism, it does appear, from much of the content of his book, that traditional Canada's situation is all but hopeless.

Betrayal and Deceit: The Politics of Canadian Immigration
by Charles M. Campbell
West Vancouver, BC: Jasmine Books
231 pages, $14.95 US, $19.95 Can.

Unlike its American equivalents (e.g., Peter Brimelow's *Alien Nation: Common Sense About America's Immigration Disaster*) Campbell's book has not been published by a major publisher, has not been extensively reviewed in the press, and is not backed by any significant infrastructure of activists, think tanks, and other publications. In modern times, it is typically the existence of extensive communities of interest (or "cadres") focusing on major political issues, that is the vehicle for significant political change. In Canada, the various left liberal structures command resources which outweigh by astronomical factors, those of so-called "small-c conservatives."

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Mr. Campbell has been fortunate to attract upport for his book from some fairly prominent anadians, e.g., Martin Collacott, former Canadian mbassador to Lebanon, Syria and Cambodia, and ormer High Commissioner to Sri Lanka, who wrote short Foreword.

In his Preface, Mr. Campbell writes that ...[o]ver the sixteen years since 1983, I have athered related official and semi-official government eports and other documentation, some of it onfidential, as well as ministerial statements and ress releases. This record of recent immigration istory has provided the foundation for this book" p.viii). The book is well- researched, well-ocumented and quite analytical. There are footnotes, bibliography (pp.215-220), and an index (pp.221-31).

Campbell's first chapter, "Immigration Debate — he Impossible Dream?" points out that immigration olicy is virtually never debated in Canada. For xample, at the 1991 federal Progressive Conservative arty convention, there were at least seven mmigration- and multiculturalism-restricting esolutions — e.g., one "demanding revisions of ulticultural policy to foster `a common national dentity for one people living together in harmony as qual citizens loyal to the Canadian ideal' [which] assed at 89 per cent..." (p.8). All these were utterly gnored by the federal Progressive Conservative overnment of Brian Mulroney — indeed, Mulroney Canada's Prime Minister, 1984-1993) had been esponsible for the greatest immigration increase in anada's history (from the 54,000 or so of Liberal rime Minister Trudeau's last year in office, 1983-984, to over a quarter million persons by 1990). nce Mulroney had carried through the Canada-US ree Trade deal, as well as the countrywide GST Goods and Services Tax — the Canadian VAT), his as conventionally considered a "hard-right regime." ampbell points out that even in the Liberal Party, ere were some (e.g., in British Columbia in 1992) uestioning the wide- open immigration policies — ho were, of course, silenced.

In Chapter II, Campbell considers "The Five nmigration Myths." He points out that Canada's nmigration has almost always been "below" 1 per cent of the population (whereas today, Liberal policymakers are trying to elevate the optimum immigration intake to that level). His second point is that Canada, even today, has 13.5 births versus 7.2 deaths per 1,000 population, so it is still a young and growing country, with no real need for immigrants. The third myth is that Canada needs a larger population. The last two myths are that "immigrants earn more and return more to the Canadian economy than Canadian-born citizens," and that "immigrants create more jobs than they take." Campbell proves his case by breaking out the statistics on average annual immigrant earnings between "immigrants from traditional countries" and "new immigrant groups from non-traditional countries." The average annual income disparity (between immigrants from traditional vs. non-traditional sources) over the 1980-1984 period is over $10,000 (Canadian) ($30,982 versus $20,814) (the average Canadian salary in 1984 was $31,436)(p.21).

Chapter III, "The Roots of the Problem" looks at the beginning of Canada's immigration woes in the late 1960s. The first three critical years of huge immigration were 1973-1975, when large numbers of arrivals from nontraditional sources were accepted. Then, "[t]he 1976 Immigration Act came into effect on April 10, 1978, and, as amended in 1985 and 1992, applies today" (p.32).

The flaws of the Act were manifest, creating a very generouslyinterpreted "Family Class" and "Assisted Relatives" category of immigration, along with a very tightly interpreted "Independent Immigrants" category, based strictly on the "points system." Two other categories which came to be increasingly generously interpreted were the so-called "Entrepreneur" and "Refugee" classes. The Family Class/Assisted Relatives category allowed for the entry of a vast number of dubious immigrants, many of whom went straight on welfare, as their family members' pledges to support them for ten years were not enforced by the Canadian state. Meanwhile, tens of thousands of highly-skilled potential immigrants in the "Independent Immigrants" category, most of these from traditional sources, were turned away.

Chapters IV ("Refugees: Canada's Longest Lineup"), V ("A Wide-Open Back Door"), and VI

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("Administrative Collapse"), looks at the vexatious issue of the Refugee category, where abuse of Canadian generosity is perhaps most flagrant. Campbell cites the statistics on the refugee backlog in the late 1980s. The first ten countries on the list are: Trinidad & Tobago (14,787 persons); Sri-Lanka (11,045); Iran (9,217); El Salvador (7,933); Portugal (5,745); Ghana (5,137); India (3,950); Nicaragua (3,732); Lebanon (3,715); Guatemala (2,992) (pp.90-91). To what extent can most of these countries be seen as undergoing profound civil disturbances at that time, which would warrant the extension of refuge? The whole process of abuse of Canadian generosity was intensified by the "Singh" decision of the Canadian Supreme Court, that every refugee-claimant had exactly the same rights as a Canadian citizen, and had to be given an oral hearing to decide his refugee-claim. In the meantime, they would receive welfare, housing, health-care, and other benefits.

Campbell cites *The Economist*: "Canada's generous refugee system is open to abuse — and foreign crooks know it. Under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, anyone who arrives claiming to be a refugee has the same legal rights as any Canadian. That can mean a lengthy sequence of hearings and appeals, while the newcomer remains in Canada, living on social benefits ... or crime."

And meanwhile, what did Gordon Fairweather, the chair of the new Immigration and Refugee Board, say? "Referring to an immigration organization devoted to assisting Europeans to enter Canada as immigrants ... he took the startling position that ... 'European immigration is blatant bigotry and the kind of thing people used to say when they said white immigration only. It's something from the past that most of us would want to forget.'"

Campbell also makes the point that the Immigration and Refugee Board was staffed almost entirely by pro-immigration activists (such as immigration lawyers) and visible minority group members. He also points to "The Consultation Fraud" (Chapter VII), where it is always the same left-liberal and pro-immigration groups, that are asked to comment on the government's immigration policies.

Chapter VIII, "Citizenship Fire Sale," tears apart the premises of the Entrepreneur category. The abuse of that category is endemic. "Dr. Roslyn Kunin, spoke at a workshop ...[i]n the Canadian experience, 58 per cent of Entrepreneur immigrants from Hong Kong have fewer than twelve years of formal education. 50 per cent have neither English- nor French-language ability. Her studies had shown that 'most of the entrepreneurs were teachers or people engaged in other professions from which they were often retired...'" (p.189).

In Chapter IX, "The Australian Solution," Campbell points to Australia as an example of a country with a better-managed immigration policy. He is probably being optimistic in his appraisal of Australia. In almost all Western societies today, there is a trend towards weakening control of the nations' borders, and of the embracing of trends such as multiculturalism, political correctness, and minority empowerment. Canada may just be the most "advanced" of the various Western societies, where notions of traditional nation, family, religion, and strict law and order, are the weakest.

Chapter X, "What We Must Do," is a listing of several straightforward proposals in regards to Canada's future immigration policies. They are all commonsense reforms. Campbell is hoping that at least a portion of the civil service immigration bureaucracies can be brought on side, to assist in immigration reform, as some of their members have indeed dissented when special-interest driven government policies went too far. However, immigration reform is increasingly becoming a forlorn hope in Canada. For the last three decades, left liberalism has advanced in a great, raging tide in Canada, seeking to extirpate whatever residues of "small-c conservatism" or the old, traditional Canada it could find. Canada has not had a "small-c conservative" government at the federal level since 1963. Insofar as the ruling Liberal Party (often called the "natural governing party of Canada") is able to maintain its hold on power, then Canada's identity and immigration crises will continue to deepen.

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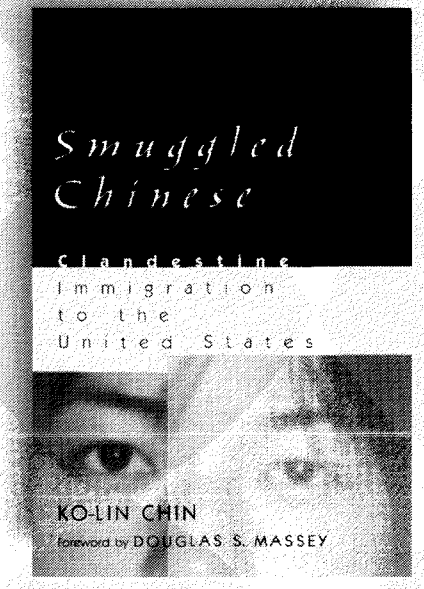
Smuggled Chinese

CLANDESTINE IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES



KO-LIN CHIN
Foreword by Douglas S. Massey

"Quoting liberally from the [interviewed] immigrants' statements, Chin creates a poignant picture of the great hardships immigrants have endured in order to pay off debts and send money home to their families"
—*Library Journal*

No one knows how many Chinese are being smuggled into the United States, but credible estimates put the number at 50,000 arrivals each year. Probing into the causes and consequences of this clandestine traffic, *Smuggled Chinese* puts a human face on this intractable international problem, showing how flaws in national policies and lax law enforcement perpetuate the cycle of desperation and suffering. Ko-lin Chin, School of Criminal Justice at Rutgers University, Newark and author of the book *Chinatown Gangs: Extortion, Enterprise and Ethnicity*, has interviewed more than 300 people—smugglers, illegal immigrants (called human snakes in the trade), government officials, and business owners—in the United States, China, and Taiwan.

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